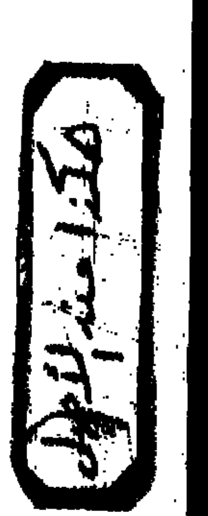


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

[Ham]burg, 31 July 1983
[Twen]ty-second year - No. 1093 - By air

Plan to step-up role of conventional weapons

[Th]e Bonn government wants to deve[l]op a long-range conventional [wea]pons system to replace tactical nu[clear] weapons in certain situations.

[It] also wants to consider the possibi[lity] of reducing the stockpile of nuclear [war]heads in Europe in line with any in[creas]e in reliance on conventional for[ces].

[Th]e Bonn Defence Minister, Man[fred] Wörner, visited Washington this [mon]th to discuss the issues with Wash[ingt]on officials.

[D]etails of what Bonn wants are not [kno]wn. They will not be finalised until [Nov]ember.

[Th]e proposals come in response to [dou]bts about current strategy. Many ex[pert]s feel that the flexible response stra[teg]y can no longer be credibly pursued.

[It] has come to lack credibility in [term]s of military technology and in the [im]portance it attaches to tactical nu[clea]r weapons, they say.

[Fo]r some time political and military

At the same time public opinion grows increasingly ill at ease. People are no longer prepared to believe blindly what the experts say, regardless whether they wear uniforms or pin-striped suits.

Solutions to this deep-seated strategic crisis have been sought for some time both by peace research workers of various persuasions and by military and political planners.

The proposals Herr Wörner took to Washington closely resemble past proposals by Nato C-in-C General Rogers, by Herr Wörner himself as Opposition spokesman on defence, and by US Senator Nunn.

The basic feature is the development and manufacture of long-range conventional weapon systems for use against the second and third waves sent in by an aggressor and against his supply lines.

These weapons are planned to be much more accurately targetable than systems now in use. Many targets that could be covered by intelligent conventional systems are currently covered by tactical nuclear weapons.

Procurement of these new weapons is a major aspect of what Bonn has in mind. Another is to consider the possibility of reducing the number of nuclear warheads stockpiled in Europe once strategy has been modified.



Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) in Washington with American Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. (Photo: dpa)

In connection with the dual-track decision Nato set up a high-level group that will probably also report in September on which and how many warheads can be dispensed with.

They are certain to include the warheads of the Nike ground-to-air missiles, which are due to be replaced by a conventional system.

Prompted by an article in the *Washington Post*, there has also been talk in Washington of withdrawing 2,000 nuclear grenades.

But there are said to be US plans to replace them by 1,000 more up-to-date nuclear shells capable of being modernised to incorporate a neutron device.

Herr Wörner has not clearly stated what is planned; he merely said plans were not imminent.

Mr Weinberger has given an assurance that the neutron device would only be stationed in Germany if Bonn were to give its approval.

Bonn has yet to do so (arguably with the emphasis on the word "yet").

After preliminary talks in Bonn and Washington Nato may well deal officially with a change of strategy at its winter conference.

If it does so it will need to be borne

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

[Plan]ning staff at Nato have been consi[derin]g a modification of military strate[gy].

[Th]ey have been considering the pos[sibilit]ies of improving conventional de[fence] capacity by means of new wea[pons] to make Nato less dependent on [short]-range nuclear weapons.

[Fo]r Bonn the credibility both at [home] and abroad of a strategy made to [meas]ure for Europe is a matter of life [and d]eath.

[In] terms of security policy one aim is [to m]ake the risk incalculable for a [pote]ntial aggressor. Another is to ensu[re th]at the deterrent is not so drastic [that] to use it in defence would be to [destr]oy one's own country.

[A] strategy that conveys this impres[sion] will carry little conviction abroad. [It wi]ll also be steadily less acceptable to [the pe]ople it is supposed to protect.

[Th]is is the point that has now been [reach]ed in the Federal Republic of Ger[many]. The flexible response strategy [can] no longer be credibly pursued, or so [man]y experts feel.

Compromise bid 'not change of mind on arms'

Bonn's efforts to overcome deadlock at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles (INF) don't mean the German government is planning to abandon the stationing of Pershing 2 missiles from next December.

This point has been stressed by chief government spokesman Peter Boenisch in Bonn. "We hope and are firmly convinced agreement will be reached in Geneva," he said, "but if it isn't, the missiles will be stationed."

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has emphasised Bonn's determination on this issue. So has Alfred Dregger, CDU/CSU leader in the Bonn Bundestag.

Speculation that Bonn might be changing its tack was prompted by references to the "walk in the woods" proposals mooted last year by Mr Nitze and Mr Kvitsinski in Geneva.

Bonn feels the "walk in the woods" proposals might be a means of breaking the deadlock because it disregards the Anglo-French nuclear potential at the INF talks.

The Bonn government's viewpoint is outlined in detail as follows:

● The "walk in the woods" proposals are seen as a useful basis for a compromise between the superpowers on medium-range missiles, which is why Bonn feels they deserve to be reactivated...

● The conference table is the only place where a decision can be taken on dispensing with the stationing of US Pershing 2 missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Nitze-Kvitsinski proposals would entail just such a decision. They provide for 75 SS-20s in the East and 75 Cruise missile systems in Western Europe.

● If no results that justify a reappraisal of Nato's missile modernisation plans as envisaged by the December 1979 dual-track decision are reached by December this year, the stationing of new US medium-range missiles will go ahead as planned.

● But the West will continue to aim at a negotiated settlement by the terms of which any reduction in the number of Soviet SS-20s systems in Europe could be accompanied by a withdrawal of Western systems.

The dual-track Nato decision expressly states that missile modernisation requirements are to be reviewed in the light of negotiation results.

But this can only be done, as government experts point out, if there are results to review.

This means that consideration cannot be given until late autumn to any departure from the existing missile deployment proposals or reduction in missile modernisation requirements.

Foreign Minister Genscher has held talks in Bonn with the chief US delegate at the Start talks in Geneva, Mr Rowny, who briefed him on the current state of negotiations and the latest US and Soviet proposals.

The Foreign Office stated that Herr Genscher had expressed approval of the result-orientated and flexible attitude toward negotiations taken by the USA at the Start and INF talks in Geneva.

It was now up to the Soviet Union to take a flexible attitude and make its contribution toward results. In particular, the Kremlin ought no longer to block the INF talks by insisting on the inclusion of British and French nuclear systems.

The latest proposals made by both sides at the Start talks had triggered a certain amount of movement. Serious and intensive talks were in progress, but major difficulties remained.

For the time being the United States had no intention of considering adding British and French systems to the INF agenda.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 July 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Relief at outcome of the Madrid review talks



President Reagan says the outcome of the Helsinki review conference in Madrid is the best that could have been achieved.

The Russians refer vaguely to the possibility of a breath of fresh air in East-West relations.

There is a general sense of relief that the Madrid conference has finally agreed on terms providing for a series of further talks.

Diplomats from 35 European and North American countries have put in painstaking filigree work to make compromise possible on issues on which views were for the most part irreconcilable.

Disregarding this achievement, three points deserve special mention in connection with the Madrid marathon (the conference has been in progress since autumn 1980):

First, despite fundamental differences of interest and values the superpowers have invariably stopped short at risking being blamed for destroying a model of safeguarding peace and cooperation in Europe.

They were only able to avert the risk because, under pressure from Europeans of all hues (Western, Eastern, neutral and non-aligned), they resolved to be flexible and not to insist on demands that were out of the question for the other side.

That alone is no guarantee that America and Russia will adopt a similar attitude at the two rounds of Geneva disarmament talks.

It is no guarantee of their respective leaders taking a similar attitude should a superpower summit meeting be held either. But a relaxation of tension is at least more conceivable than it was.

The Madrid agreement will also lead to a final meeting of Foreign Ministers at which Mr Shultz will meet Mr Gromyko for first time since Mr Brezhnev's funeral.

Second, the process set in motion by the 1975 Helsinki accords has survived two major world crises during the three years of talks in Madrid.

The first was the repercussions of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the second the imposition of martial law in Poland at Moscow's behest.

In Afghanistan's case the West was bound to give the Kremlin a piece of its mind, whereas it preferred to pursue a twofold strategy at the height of the Polish crisis.

While the Russians and Poles were accused of riding roughshod over the Helsinki accords the Western European Nato states took great care to avoid collapsing the Madrid conference.

The West, said Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, must never be the first to leave the conference table.

But Washington in particular had first to be persuaded that this was the right line to take. More than once the United States wanted to walk out of the Madrid talks in protest against martial law in Poland.

Bonn concentrated on persuading the Soviet Union to remain fully integrated in the Helsinki process in the hope that Moscow would stop short at taking even more drastic action in Poland.

There is no way of proving how successful Bonn has been, but it is certainly universally acknowledged to have contributed toward the continuation of the Madrid talks throughout the difficult periods.

Third, the Helsinki review conference jas had an integrative effect in the West despite the tendency of the USA to take a strict view on humanitarian issues, observance of human rights and basic freedoms.

While America sought to browbeat the Russians into accepting maximum demands its Western European allies preferred to compromise.

Their aim was to keep the Helsinki process, and its succession of conferences, going even when East-West ties were not at their most cordial.

In the end the Europeans prevailed on America to agree to compromise, not least by virtue of the helpful diplomacy of the non-aligned delegations and of the conference's host, Prime Minister Gonzalez of Spain.

A number of conferences are to be held between now and the next Helsinki review conference, which is to take place in Vienna in November 1986.

The most important one seems sure to be the European disarmament conference, to be held early next year in Stockholm.

It will start by dealing with confidence-building measures in the military sector, a topic covered briefly in the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The purpose of confidence-building measures is to reduce the risk of a surprise attack.

The Helsinki, or CSCE, process cannot be viewed primarily as a disarmament forum, as the Russians would soonest see it.

Basic freedoms

The Helsinki accords attach equal importance to all three baskets of proposals incorporated, including human rights and basic freedoms.

Yet no headway was made at Madrid on reunifying divided families, on setting up free trade unions, on the right to strike, on religious freedom and the free flow of information.

Negotiations on these topics have merely been adjourned; that was all the delegations could agree on.

Acceptable though the results in Madrid may seem in the present difficult circumstances, agreement cannot be said to have been reached on more than a modus vivendi between East and West.

We are still a long way away from genuine detente.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 22 July 1983)

Germans in ... raise hope over Strauss

Never has a private visit ... by a leading West Ger... cian so preoccupied people ... many as the first visit to the ... Franz Josef Strauss.

The Bavarian Prime Minis... years been criticised by GDR ... gandists and was felt by many ... mans to be a man from whom ... easements could not be expec...

Any moves he might mak... more likely to make intra-Ge... tions even chillier.

Now Herr Strauss has ... emerged as a ray of hope for ... in the GDR. After the billion ... mark loan and his part in p... way for it many East German... Bavarian leader might succe... suading the GDR leaders to m... cessions in return.

The GDR media may not b... the slightest mention of his ... arranging the loan, but most ... the GDR tune in to Western ... TV and are aware of the fact.

Herr Strauss has referred ... once to a relaxation of checks ... travellers by East German ... guards, but Germans on both ... the border feel there must be ... counter-concessions than that.

Besides, visitors from the W... nue to complain of the tre... which they are sometimes ... when crossing the border into ... and East Berlin.

Sceptics in the GDR saw ... between Herr Strauss and the ... man leader, Herr Honecker, ... test of Herr Strauss's mettle ... landpolitik. They were not ... anything much to result from ...

Herr Honecker is aware of ... and expectations of people in ... He will also be aware how ... Strauss is to gain prestige; ... leader is prestige-conscious too.

Above all, he will be anxio... upset the Bavarian Premier, ... yet be instrumental in negoti... ther loans.

(Frankfurter Allgem... für Deutschland, ...)

Wörner in US

Continued from page 1

in mind that there will be no dispensing with stockpiles of nuclear weapons for use in defence.

There may be fewer nuclear weapons in Europe, but the possibility of using them will continue to form part of Western defence planning.

In the conventional sector there will be a substantial arms build-up should the concept as outlined be accepted, and financing it will create serious problems.

The procurement of new and even more expensive arms technologies will either not take place or lead to cuts and eking out of defence budget estimates.

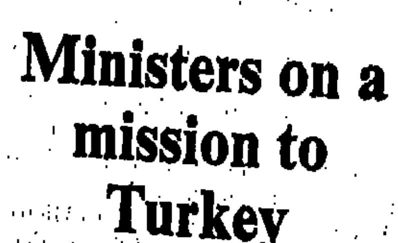
It is totally unclear who is to man such complicated systems given the armed forces' shortage of cash and manpower.

The outlines of a modified strategy were discussed in Washington, but political and economic realities could force the West to retain the existing concept for some time even though everyone regards it as inadequate.

Kurt Kister

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 July 1983)

Ministers on a mission to Turkey



Two Bonn Cabinet Ministers have been to Turkey in an effort to smooth over issues involving Turkish workers in Germany.

But neither Labour Minister Norbert Blüm nor Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmerman made much headway.

It is hard to explain to a country in such economic straits as Turkey that it cannot go on exporting labour.

The 1.8 million Turks who already live in Germany, where unemployment is also high, cannot be regarded as the advance contingent of an even larger influx.

Traditional German-Turkish friendship, Nato membership and Turkey's desire to join the EEC should lay the groundwork for settling these tricky issues without the hysteria evident in some Turkish press coverage of the subject.

The Turks must realise that the offer of repatriation grants is not compulsory; migrant workers can take it or leave it.

Reuniting divided families, for that matter, need not be entirely a one-way traffic. Why must families be reunited in Germany?

The Germans will have to appreciate that aliens legislation is bound to strike deep at families and plans, so care is called for rather than extremist slogans which impose an extra burden on Germans and Turks living together.

A weakness of Bonn's viewpoint is that it is controversial even within the coalition, with the Free Democrats arguing that it would be inhuman to limit the right to join parents in Germany to children aged six or less.

The whole idea involves issues of willingness and ability to integrate tht must first be discussed and settled by the Bonn coalition parties.

More flexible arangements could surely be proposed that might be expected to warrant a great show of goodwill on Turkey's part.

It may be a matter of purely German legislation but there can be ... that for domestic and foreig... reasons the dialogue must co... only to take the edge off ... look like worsening.

Bonn is motivated by econo... social necessity, not by xenoph... Ankara would do well to set ... tion and outrage and show a ... of understanding.

(Der Tagesspiegel, ...)

The German Trib...

Publisher Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief ... Heinz. Editor Alexander Anthony. English ... sub-editor Simon Burnett. – Distribution ... Georgine Picone

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene ... Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733.

Advertising rates list No. 14 –
Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Fried... Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA ... MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New ... 10011

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE ... published in cooperation with the editorial ... leading newspapers of the Federal Republic ... ny. They are complete translations of the original ... no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your ... number which appears on the wrapper ... asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Chancellor turns attention to foreign fields

...ortly after his return from Moscow ...nd Kiev, Chancellor Helmut Kohl ...unced that he intends visiting Is... some Arab countries and Japan ... the end of the year.

...is has caused the impression that ... trying to emulate his Foreign Mi... Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is ...n for his shuttle diplomacy.

...hl is not the first Chancellor to be ...ated by foreign affairs. His "poli... grandfather", Konrad Adenauer, ...nother.

...eign affairs have become particu... attractive right now because do... ...c policy has been a tedious and ...pular uphill struggle in the first ...months of the centre-right coalition ...onn.

...ere is little joy to be had from col... ...ng even more money from people ...ad of showering them with bene...

...he first 100 days of the second Kohl ...net shows that the Chancellor has ...aged to tick off quite a number of ...ts as having been taken care of.

...e budget has been drafted as agre... complete with further cutbacks for ...age pensioners, the jobless and di... ...ed and some welcome benefits for ...iness.

...he construction of the Main-Danube Canal is to proceed; Family Affairs ...inister Heiner Geissler has moved to ...e *children*, parents and grandpa... mutually responsible for each ... should one of them fall on hard ... (thus relieving the welfare fund); Interior Minister Friedrich Zim...mann has put forward his bill to ...en the law on demonstrations that ... violent. (Minister Zimmermann in an interview with the new magazine *Der Spiegel*: "If a policeman tells a demonstrator to leave the demonstration and he doesn't obey, he is no normal citizen.")

The demonstration bill met with only lukewarm resistance from the Free Democrats, who gave in meekly in the end, despite Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff's denial that this was so.

The fact that the government is in no hurry to honour other promises lies in the nature of this coalition. This applies to the original intention to remove certain tax relief provisions (like the provisions governing write-off companies).

But this can still come. After all, the coalition is still at the beginning of its four-year term.

The cabinet has certainly not been idle in its domestic policy as laid down in the coalition paper.

The "about turn" is in full swing, which makes the state of the coalition even more surprising. There is no sign of unity, nor is there any sign of the "spiritual leadership" to which, unlike his predecessor, Chancellor Kohl lays claim.

This is evidenced by a number of facts, among them the verbose dispute over the stiffening of the criminal code provisions on disturbing the peace (which an exuberant chief federal prosecutor did not hesitate to praise as a return to conditions that prevailed in this country between 1871 and 1970).

But Interior Minister Zimmermann (CSU) is still not satisfied with the concessions he managed to wrest from Justice Minister Hans Engelhard (FDP) — if "wrest" is the word.

There is much that can be said about the justice minister — but he can certainly not be described as a dedicated fighter for a cause.

A joke circulating in Bonn has it that by the time Engelhard has filled his pipe Zimmermann has already finished smoking his.

Engelhard's wordy protests are unconvincing because his party had allowed itself to be shackled on this issue from the very beginning, i. e. in the coalition paper.

This dispute was not the last bit of sparring withing the coalition, which makes it easy to predict that the Bonn alliance will continue to be shaky because the CSU leader, Franz-Josef Strauss, opposes having the Liberals in the government and because they in their turn will use every opportunity to present themselves as champions of civil liberties, which they have long ceased to be.

Assuming this two-faced strategy proves inadequate to get the Free Democrats back into the Hesse State Assembly, Hans-Dietrich Genscher's party's only chance of political survival would be to forgo image-building in favour of doing something.

If this were the case, Kohl, who likes harmony in his cabinet, would have to cope not only with an unruly CSU but also with an obstreperous FDP. And this would add fuel to the anticipated "hot autumn" over the missiles issue.

But this is in the offing anyway if the jobless rate goes up again and the business community starts airing its pent up disenchantment with the gifts from the government which it considers too measly. The business community also holds that the cutbacks in social benefits are too small.

MP Heimo George (CDU) who, though sympathising with the business community, heads his parliamentary group's Social Affairs Workshop (a wolf guarding the sheep) has only just pointed the way in that sector.

Felix Hartlieb

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 15 July 1983)

Kohl builds a new image out of success

...or years, Germans found it hard to ...magine being governed by a diffe... Chancellor.

...elmut Schmidt — knowledgable, ...getic, statesmanlike— they said to ...selves, was the only man for the ... especially in politically and econo...lly difficult times.

...ot only SPD followers felt that way. ... CDU sympathisers also regarded ...midt as the best man.

...ch was the respect for Schmidt that ... the sharp-eyed failed to see the di...gration and disunity in the Chan...r's Social Democratic Party and ...SPD-FDP coalition.

...day, we know that the SPD and ... were hopelessly at loggerheads ... before October 1982 (when the ... toppled the government by switch...sides).

...e state of the CDU/CSU then was ...ly the opposite. They were in fine ...e as political parties; but their top ... the people said to themselves, was ...hancellor material.

...nd even when Helmut Kohl became ...ncellor many people still had their ...bts.

...his scepticism had two sources: ...y people did not like Kohl and his ...ewhat ponderous south German ...onality, nor his outward appearan... ...nd his manner of speech. All of this ... so different from the northerner, ...lmut Schmidt.

...he other was a lack of faith. Many ... not believe that Kohl could solve ... problems at hand.

Now, ten months after the change of government, the picture is different.

The like or dislike of the chancellor as a person no longer plays a major role — and rightly so. What the people now talk about is his political concept and his ability to get things done.

As a personality, a top politician rarely meets the ideal of all citizens. Adenauer was not liked by all; nor was Willy Brandt. Schmidt was the exception.

One of Kohl's most important tasks as Chancellor was to make it quite clear that there is only one top man in the conservative camp that provided the Chancellor.

The constant disputes with Franz-Josef Strauss during the opposition years had been a major handicap.

The hope that the ambitious CSU leader would withdraw from national politics after he failed to be voted in as Chancellor in 1980 was not realised.

Kohl therefore had to expect new trials of strength. The first came when Strauss wanted to join the cabinet after the conservative election victory, in March.

The second came with Strauss' attempt to pursue his own *Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik*.

Helmut Kohl won both rounds — primarily because he made a tactically wise use of his position as Chancellor.

This was a convincing demonstration of his astuteness in dealing with this type of dispute — an astuteness he had demonstrated many times before.

There is always something spectacular about the power struggle of two men belonging to the same political camp. It would therefore be wrong to measure Kohl only by his conflict with Strauss.

He has proved himself tobe a politician with plenty of staying power on many another occasion, as for instance with his decision to seek new elections in the face of opposition from his own camp.

Schmidt recently said that the new Chancellor had made no major mistake so far.

The fact that the opposition criticises the goverment's foreign and domestic policy is no more than its job.

But even the opposition is becoming increasingly convinced that it must come to terms with a long Kohl chancellorship.

Most of the government policies are still to be realised; but the fact is that the nation is starting to get used to Kohl as Chancellor — a fact that cannot be explained by saying that people has come to terms with realities or that he is a creature of habit.

Rudolph Bernhard

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 July 1983)

The scoreboard after the first 100 days

Bremer Nachrichten

A favourite journalists' game is assessing a government's first 100 days. The centre-right coalition in Bonn has just passed that mark.

But there would be little sense in taking stock without including the five months since 1 October 1982 that preceded the election that swept the present coalition into power in March.

It was probably the most amazing achievement of the new coalition to have gone to the people on 6 March.

Its reckoning that all that was needed to win an election was to tell the people the truth and give them a say paid off.

The economic and social policy decisions of the Kohl-Genscher government were anything but designed for popular appeal, but this attracted rather than repelled the people.

Confirmed by the electorate, the government was free to continue on its course.

But there were irritations and tactical mistakes, especially on such basic issues as pensions and the creation of apprenticeships.

The Bonn government came under a barrage of public criticism on both points, jeopardising the very credibility that was originally the coalition's most important asset. In fact,this will give the government plenty to chew on in the months to come.

Even though the predominant view is that Kohl and Genscher are steering the right course by and large, they have so far been unable to provide proof of political continuity in certain sectors.

For example,the DM1bn loan to the GDR, guaranteed by Bonn, stunned the public.

The CDU and CSU rank and file still have to come to terms with the sudden about-face and the fact that East German border guards are now being praised as promoting détente in a bid to justify the loan.

The Free Democrats are in a somewhat better position. Their "policy of small steps" can be seen as a precursor of the new *Deutschlandpolitik* stance.

This makes it difficult to strike a 100-day balance in the *Deutschlandpolitik* sector. It takes more than 100 days to do justice to a government.

The first Kohl-Genscher government sought new elections in order to be able to govern for a full four-year term. As a result, all this government has done so far is only a fraction of its performance for the rest of the term.

German foreign policy is also subject to uncertainties even though the coalition can be trusted to stick to principles.

For one thing it must be clear who is in charge of our foreign policy. The impression is that it is not Foreign Minister Genscher.

Right now,we are faced with hot and cold political showers on the missiles issue.

Bonn is acting its role with the full gamut of facial expression, and nobody can say what the outcome will be.

Karl Hugo Pruys

(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 July 1983)

■ **ARMS RACE**

After missile deployment: why Moscow will not turn the screw too hard

Prospects of progress in the foreseeable future on medium-range missiles, seem remote.

The Russians have tried to use the peace movement in the West for their own purposes: to prevent missile modernisation and keep Pershing 2s and Cruise missiles out of Western Europe.

But they are gradually realising that this will not work. The West will station the new missiles unless substantial Soviet concessions are made in Geneva.

The Russians long believed that all they had to do was to reduce by several hundred the number of SS-20 systems deployed — to a number equivalent to the combined missile potential of Britain and France.

Bonn Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel asked Mr Andropov in Moscow in January what the term "reduction" could be taken as meaning.

He was told, according to Herr Vogel's notes on what he remembered of the talks, that some missiles would be scrapped and others withdrawn and redeployed in the Far East.

There they would be a counterweight to new missile based in Japan and China.

The next day Herr Vogel conferred with Soviet military and disarmament experts and was given a much less reassuring answer about scrapping missiles.

"General Chervov of the Soviet general staff," the minutes state, "said that was a *matter of principle that remained to be solved. It was solely a matter of nuclear weapons in Europe.*"

Mr Zagladin of the CPSU central committee added that the danger to the east was constantly increasing from the Soviet point of view.

Withdrawal of missiles definitely meant restationing them in areas from which they could no longer threaten Europe.

None of the assembled Soviet experts felt able to echo Mr Andropov's sentiments on scrapping the missiles, which can hardly have come as much of a surprise.

For years the Soviet Union has ploughed more of its economic potential than any other country into armaments, especially the missile build-up.

Estimates vary between 11 and 14 per cent, as against three to five per cent of GNP in the West.

The Soviet military establishment is unlikely to be enthusiastic about the idea of scrapping this investment, even partially.

Military men are bound to dismiss any such idea as absurd. An entire, gigantic, privileged strategic industry and military-industrial complex depends on the arms build-up.

It has its own rules of selection, promotion and material incentive, with all modern conveniences laid on. It is an establishment that is keen to maintain its privileged position and to carry on manufacturing arms.

Mr Andropov has clearly sided with the military establishment and the arms lobby in the Soviet politbureau.

A characteristic indication of his dependence came to light not long ago when he offered in a speech to assess the missile potential of the two sides in terms of warheads rather than missile systems.

The military seems to have intervened immediately. A few days later he reverted to missile and launching facility numbers in talks with Finnish leaders in Moscow.

Since the Williamsburg summit the Russians have realised that the idea of a withdrawal of some SS-20s to positions further east no longer carries conviction.

It would take only a few days to redeploy them in their mothballed launching positions west of the Urals.

Besides, the idea of redeploying the missiles in Asia is not viewed at all kindly by the Japanese, who now likewise feel threatened and are all in favour of missile modernisation.

Japan may not be a Nato member but at Williamsburg it backed the decision to reaffirm the December 1979 dual-track Nato decision in view of the Soviet threat to the Far East.

In other words, Mr Andropov currently has nothing to offer in Geneva: neither a missile "reduction" nor scrapping nor even withdrawal of his SS-20s further east.

So it would be totally utopian to imagine vague ideas developed by Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinski during their celebrated walk in the woods near Geneva a year ago being reactivated.

The "walk in the woods" proposal was, tentatively, to restrict the number of Cruise missiles stationed in Western Europe to 75 *(and no Pershing 2s at all)* and the number of SS-20s to 75 too.

The peace movement will have to realise sooner or later that the Soviet military establishment is not prepared to sacrifice even a single medium-range missile manufactured at such expense. And it is certainly not going to agree to on-the-spot inspection.

That is why neither a zero option nor an interim solution as suggested by the USA are acceptable to the Kremlin.

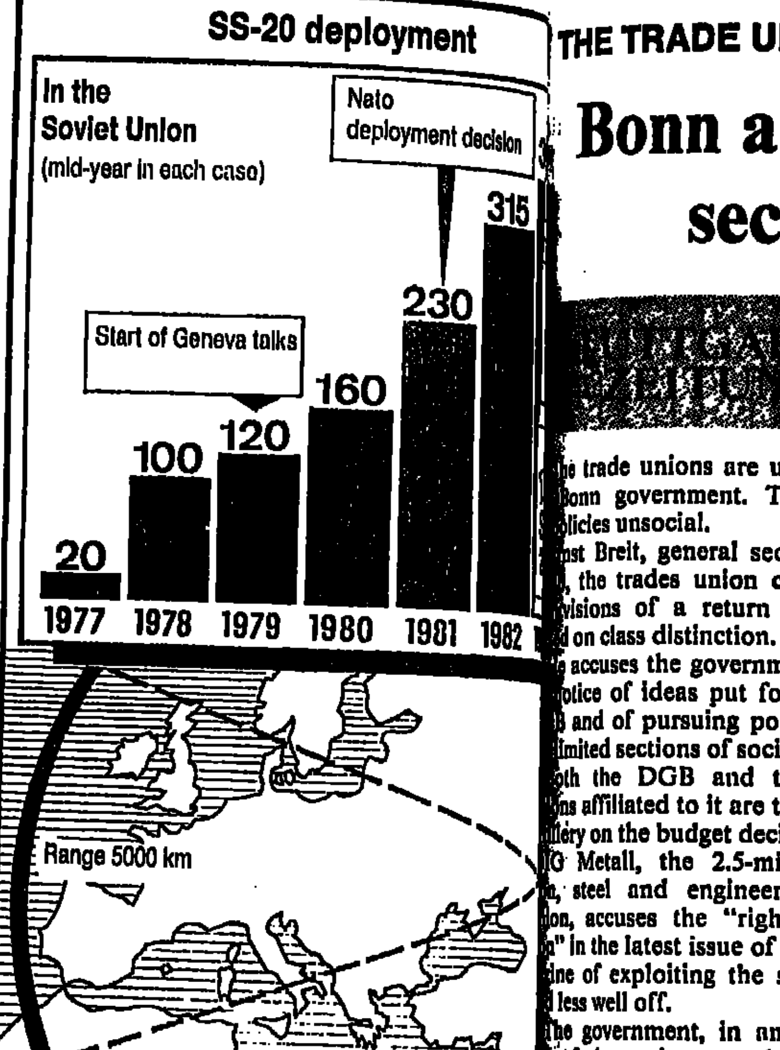
It is an unpleasant state of affairs politically, and a contradiction not even a healthier man than Mr Andropov could readily resolve, but it does lend itself to a modicum of realism.

The Russians have tried in Moscow to exert pressure on Germany by using strong words, but they will not overturn the screw.

They must appreciate that they too have little room to manoeuvre and that life will go on even after missile modernisation in Western Europe. That is why the East German leader, Herr Honecker, was recently allowed to negotiate with Bonn a billion-deutschemark loan. It is also why Moscow has said relations will be chillier if the West goes ahead and stations the new US missiles in Europe. But the Russians have not said cooperation will then be brought to a halt. They still need the Germans.

Fritz Ullrich Fack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 July 1983)



Soviet build-up continues, says defence document

Bonn's annual white paper on disarmament says the Soviet Union continues uncompromisingly to arm to the teeth.

It lists Nato figures indicating that Moscow is well ahead of the West in medium-range missiles. There is approximate parity in intercontinental missiles.

In terms of constant contacts and talks with Eastern neighbours to arrive at stable relations and genuine detente, the report says, the Western alliance is the sole basis of the Federal Republic of Germany's security.

The white paper includes a chart that is of interest both politically and strategically. It lists the increase in medium-range Soviet missiles over the past six years alongside constant Soviet claims that a balance of power has been established.

When the first Western worries about Soviet SS-20 missiles were voiced by Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in 1977 the USSR had 10 SS-20s ... total 30 warheads stationed.

When Mr Brezhnev visited ... May 1978 there were 60 SS-20s ... 180 warheads, in position.

By the time Nato reached ... track decision on missile modern... and disarmament talks in D... 1979 the Soviet Union had roug... missiles and 420 warheads dep...

By December 1980, when Mr ... nev made his moratorium p... Russia had an estimated 200 SS... 600 warheads at the ready.

When he revisited Bonn in 19... were 250 missiles aimed at ... Western Europe.

In April 1982 the Soviet lead... in terms of a stop to stationing ... siles. But by then there were ... 300, and 900 warheads, lined up ...

By December 1982, when Mr ... pov made his speech, the Soviet ... is said in the Bonn white paper ... had 333 SS-20 total was up to ... tems and 1,053 warheads.

Western experts now say the ... medium-range missile potential ... 599 missiles and total 1,301 war...

At the Geneva talks fundam... sues that could be settled fast ... on the agenda for some time, the ... says.

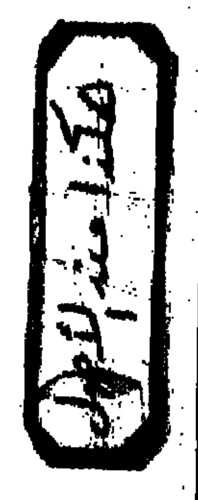
These issues on which no ... has yet been made are:

- Clarification on the actual ... strength of the two sides in terms ... termediate nuclear forces.
- Non-inclusion of systems de... by countries other than the USS... the USA, meaning the Anglo-... nuclear deterrent.
- Agreement on the area within ... the ceiling is to apply.
- Agreement on how to deal wi... tegic bombers capable of being ... delivery systems.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 11 ...)

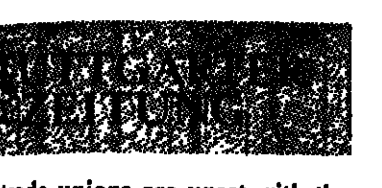
Where the missiles will be
Planned deployment 1983—87

Molesworth 64 Cruise missiles
Greenham Common 96 Cruise missiles
Woensdrecht (Holland) 48 Cruise missiles
Florennes (Belgium) 48 Cruise missiles
Comiso 112 Cruise missiles
Hunsrück 96 Cruise missiles
Neckarsulm 36 Pershing II
Schwäbisch Gmünd 36 Pershing II
Neu-Ulm 36 Pershing II



■ **THE TRADE UNIONS**

Bonn accused of pursuing sectarian policies



...he trade unions are upset with the Bonn government. They consider ... policies unsocial.

...nst Breit, general secretary of the ..., the trades union confederation, ...visions of a return to a society ...d on class distinction.

...e accuses the government of taking ...otice of ideas put forward by the ...B and of pursuing policies benefit... limited sections of society.

...oth the DGB and the industrial ...ns affiliated to it are training heavy ...llery on the budget decisions.

IG Metall, the 2.5-million-member ..., steel and engineering workers' ...on, accuses the "right-wing coali...n" in the latest issue of its union ma...ine of exploiting the socially weak ...d less well off.

The government, in another drastic ...n of phrase, is accused of shameless... ransacking the pockets of pensioners, ...others, women who no longer go out ...work, widows, the handicapped, the ...employed and welfare benefit recipi...ents.

Wage- and salary-earners and pensio...ers are said to be bled dry while the *business* community is being offered ... tax incentive after another.

IG Metall general secretary Eugen ...derer has just announced that the ...hl government has been a total fail..., while his opposite number Her...nn Rappe of the chemical workers' ...on, who is an SPD MP in Bonn, ...ms the CDU-FDP coalition is being ...liberately inactive in combating ...mployment.

The employers and "their political ...nds in the Conservative coalition" ... deliberately accepting a certain level ...unemployment "to use it as a means ...exerting pressure on employees and ...ir trade unions."

The latest issue to rile trade union ...ics of the government is the idea of ...r retirement (and pensionable age) ...women.

This is a brainchild of Economic Af... Minister Count Lambsdorff, who ... the trade unions' prime target in ...old government, an SPD-FDP coali... led by Helmut Schmidt.

The proposal to make women work ...er for their pensions was said by ...hold Keller, general secretary of the ...le workers' union, with its predomi...ly female membership, to have ...mpted unprecedented indignation ...the shopfloor.

...e made this claim in a letter to La... Minister Norbert Blüm. Elfriede ...mann of the national executive ...mittee of HBV, the banking, insu...ce and retail trades union, says her ...on too is being inundated with prot... calls that block the switchboard.

Working women of the war genera..., she says, are particularly upset at ... idea and so annoyed that they can ...rdly find words to express their dis...t.

Eva Scharnewski of the IG Chemie ...tional executive committee says it is a ...ndal to penalise working women for the country's economic ills while arguing that it is a matter of equal rights.

Working women already have to run a home and a family as well as holding down a job. Maternity allowances are to be cut and now pension rights too.

Yet millionaires are being given even more money in the form of a cut in wealth tax.

Herr Blüm tried to reassure people by claiming that Count Lambsdorff's announcement had been a mistake. He said there were no plans to raise the retirement age for women.

But the trade unions do not feel reassured. "Blüm denies any such intentions," the printing and paper workers' union magazine comments, "but who knows how long that will last?"

Herr Blüm, who is a toolmaker by trade and an IG Metall member, has even been taken to task by a fellow-unionist and Christian Democrat on the pensions issue.

She is Irmgard Blättel of the DGB national executive council, who is vice-chairman to Norbert Blüm at the helm of the CDA, or working-class wing of the Christian Democratic Union.

In *Welt der Arbeit*, the DGB weekly newspaper, she wrote that if plans that were alleged to have been drafted in Herr Blüm's Ministry were put into effect it would again be working women who had to bear the brunt of the cuts.

A fortnight later he replied in the same paper's columns that the Federal government had no intention of pursuing pension policies at women's expense.

But he gave no specific assurances, which prompted Frau Blättel to reply that working women's worries had by no means been dispelled.

At the beginning of June Frau Blättel stated in *Welt der Arbeit* that as a CDU trade unionist she must say she regretted Helmut Kohl's government policy statement; it was not what she would have wanted.

Gustav Fehrenbach, Herr Breit's deputy and another leading CDU trade unionist, agrees. Cutting welfare benefits and making tax concessions to the employers was not the way to fight unemployment, he said.

If anything it would contribute toward an increase in mass unemployment, while those who continued to oppose further cuts in working hours were equally to blame.

Christian Democratic trade unionists have been further upset by ideas aired by Haimo George, the welfare policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag party and a former business manager of the CDU's economic affairs council.

He blamed unemployment on three factors: high wages for manual labour; long paid holidays; and the requirement that employers pay the first six weeks of sickness benefit.

He also took a dim view of the general validity of wage agreements and legislative provisions for working mothers, juveniles, the handicapped and job security.

Ferdinand Koob, a Christian Democrat and IG Metall executive member, was livid. "George," he said, "has not the slightest sense or understanding of such a sensitive subject, in times of economic crisis, as welfare and employment policy."

He felt Herr George's views, which were disowned by the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in Bonn, ran counter not only to the CDA's views but also to the CDU manifesto.

They were, he added, in breach of the decisions taken at the last CDU party conference and the principles of Chancellor Kohl's government policy statement.

Herr George had published his anti-worker views without first consulting either the party or his parliamentary colleagues.

He deserved to be severely reprimanded by the parliamentary party and dismissed as chairman of the labour and social welfare committee of the CDU/CSU in the Bonn Bundestag.

Suse Weidenbach

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 July 1983)

Working hours
Redistribution of a declining volume?
Length of the German working week
60 | 42 | 50 | 48 | 45 | 42 | 40 | 35
Depth of depression | War economy | Post-war recovery | Full employment in welfare state (Gastarbeiter era) | Micro-electronics, automation, economic crisis, 2m unemployed
1900 | 1932 | 1940/41 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1983 | ?
imu 830514

Bid for 35-hour week gets top priority for next wage talks

The DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, is to join forces with its 17 affiliated industrial unions in an all-out bid to negotiate a 35-hour week as part of next year's round of wage agreements.

Details have been announced by Lothar Zimmermann, the DGB national executive member responsible for wages policy.

The unions have agreed on a joint recommendation to end existing wage agreements at the year's end or the next opportunity and to demand a shorter working week on full pay.

If strike action is required, the unions are to coordinate activities. The extra cost of a shorter working week is 2.5 per cent per hour, Herr Zimmermann says.

The DGB recommendations acknowledge the importance of other forms of working less, such as longer holidays or earlier retirement, but give absolute priority to the shorter working week.

"That's what our members want," Herr Zimmermann says. "As we have no means of achieving our objectives via parliament we cannot rule out wage negotiations. If we did, we would be finished."

He feels a shorter working week must be introduced fast, otherwise it might fail to have a beneficial effect on the labour market.

He admits that every struggle entails a risk, but unemployment is increasing so fast that the trade unions have no choice but face the challenge and run the risk.

"How long will it be," he asks, with a sideward glance at the labour market, "before there is social unrest?"

Thirty-seven per cent of German workers are union members, and Herr Zimmermann says they are prepared to go on strike to achieve their aims.

A survey is said to have shown that 60 per cent of union members are ready to support industrial action for DGB targets.

This potential is important at times of crisis because it can be used to prevent the paralysis that struck the trade union movement toward the end of the Weimar Republic.

He is strongly critical of the attitude taken by employers and the policy pursued by the Bonn government:

"Nowhere in the industrialised West is the link between the economic cycle and unemployment as close as in Germany. Nowhere are staff sacked as fast or unscrupulously.

"The Protection from Dismissal Act has degenerated into a right not to hire." Of 10,000 appeals against dismissal only 70 lead to reinstatement.

Herr Zimmermann says the Bonn government's policy can fairly be termed "unsocial" inasmuch as it onesidedly weighs down on the workers and the weak.

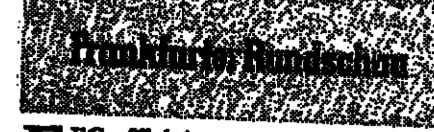
"The well-to-do are leaving the ship and leaving the rest in the lurch," he claims, "I never would have thought that gratitude to the workers could have been so negligible."

Klaus Heinemann

(Rheinische Post, 15 July 1983)

THE EEC

Bid to slash costs of agricultural policy



EEC officials are feverishly trying to work out a plan to reduce the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy.

The results of their efforts are to form the basis of negotiations among the 10 member nations.

Last month's EEC summit in Stuttgart set August 1 as the dealine for the task.

Some other EEC officials are gloating. They are those who some years ago suggested ways in which the agricultural policy could be made more efficient. Now they are waiting to see if their ideas are taken up.

The Brussels team is headed by the French director-general for agriculture, Claude Villain. Two special work groups were set up, but have been discarded because they were too cumbersome.

The first step of these groups was to draft a questionnaire for the 14 EEC Commissioners asking how they would like any economies to be made.

This caution was understandable because the best of ideas is useless unless it is politically workable.

And since the agriculture structure in the ten member nations are all different, there can be no solutions as simple as some occasionally suggested in the past ten years — especially by Bonn.

For the first time this year, the EEC will use just about every penny of its own revenue, and next year's revenues will no longer be enough to meet commitments unless there are some economising measures.

Many Brussels officials are convinced that "the chance for reform is now or never."

Experts agree that the acid test of reforms will lie in the dairy sector: of the DM38.5bn earmarked for agricultural subsidies this year, close to one-third will be used to support milk prices.

Community cows now produce 25 per cent more milk than the ten EEC nations can consume.

Fortunately, Italy and Greece don't produce enough milk and the shortfall is made up by fresh milk, butter and cheese primarily from Germany, France and Denmark.

The two southern members are rightly complaining that their farmers profit much less than their northern counterparts from the Agricultural Fund.

The surplus production of milk has two reasons. One: the northern members of the Council of Agricultural Ministers have always prevailed in bringing about price increases. This made it profitable for farmers to overproduce. Their income from milk has doubled in the past ten years.

Two: the EEC as a tariff union is committed to Gatt (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) not to charge duty on the import of non-grain animal feed. The concession obtained in return during the Kennedy Round of the 1960s was a lowering of excessive US tariffs for industrial goods from Europe.

Even though the world market price for protein-rich vegetable fats, primarily soya bean products, fluctuates considerably, experts have a rule of thumb: one kilo of this feed produces an additional litre of milk at half the usual price.

The fact that the import of this typd of feed has risen from 15 million tons in 1974 to an estimated 25 million tons this year is seen as one of the reasons for the overproduction of milk.

Bonn Agricultural Minister Ignaz Kiechle has suggested that the cheap imported cattle feed to made more expensive for farmers operating on an "industrial scale" or that these imports be curtailed in some other way. Brussels experts ask how.

Neither tariffs nor import quotas nor the "EEC fat tax" that has been mooted periodically since the early 1960s can be reconciled with the Community's commitments towards Gatt.

Under Gatt rules, the Community would have to compensate fon such import barriers by granting the supplier countries (USA and some Third World nations) tariff concessions for other products.

But referring to their computers, the Brussels officials find nothing that they can reasonably offer as a compensation.

The same applies to other modern animal feeds such as tapioca and by products of the maize, sugar beet and fruit processing industry. They, too, are flowing into German troughs at an ever-growing rate, virtually displacing costly local grain and so contributing to the Community's grain surplus.

The EEC Commission is therefore considering restricting the price guarantees for grain to limited quantities.

Not until the EEC is enlarged by Spain — which maintains high tariffs for industrial imports and fatty farm products — will it have a lever in Gatt negotiations with which to make the USA and other feed suppliers restrict their exports to it.

But because of the strains on the Community budget, the EEC cannot afford to dither on the milk problem until 1986, when Spain is likely to become a member.

The butter surplus is already 600,000 tons and milk powder 916,000 tons — both records.

In public statements, Kiechle has suggested that "pasture farmers" be guaranteed a high milk price. This would benefit those farmers who depend on their milk and have no alternative.

Other experts consider this unfeasible because of the huge bureaucracy that would needed to keep a check on every creamery. It would virtually invite cheating.

The Dutch and the Danes also oppose this kind of differentiation between farmers. As in northern Germany, their dairy farmers depend heavily on cheap imported feed.

The British, usually advocates of a thriftier agriculture policy, are also reluctant to penalise their most profitable farms.

One Brussels agriculture expert bent on reforms suggests drastic action as the best remedy: abolishing milk subsidies altogether and letting prices be governed by supply and demand.

The money used to subsidise milk prices (DM11.5bn in 1983) could then be turned over to the farmers as a outright gift instead of letting it go to creameries, warehouses, the ice cream industry and foreign buyers of butter and milk powder.

The scheme would provide each of the Community's two million dairy farmers with about DM5,600 a year.

But the idea is to save the money rather than spend it. The Mediterranean EEC farmers, who have been at a disadvantage up to now, should get more money for their fruit, vegetables and olive oil. By the same token, the EEC Commission should also come up with some practicable measures to fight wine surpluses.

But if, as intimated in the Stuttgart summit resolution, the border offset levies within the EEC are gradually to be removed, German farmers would find their incomes pared down by ten per cent and the Dutch by about seven per cent, spread over the next [...] This makes it obvious tha[t ...] drastic remedy for the milk [...] politically not workable.

After all, the ten summit[...] gart expressly told the EEC [...] sion that "all ten members m[...] contribute towards the econo[...] ures."

Erich [...]

(Frankfurter Rundschau, [...])

EEC agriculture

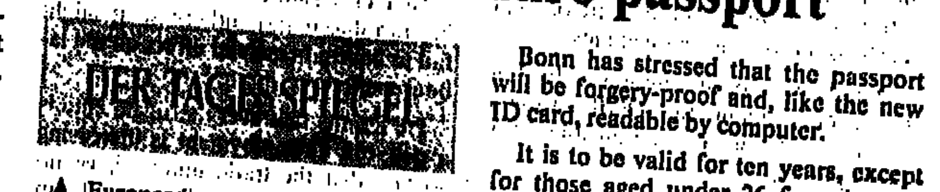
Production as a percentage of cons[umption]

	Sugar	Skim milk powder	Butter	Wine	Grain	Beef, veal	Eggs	Vegetables
1982/83 (estimates)	143 %	140	130	124	115	103	102	99*
1972/73	92	127	104	90	90	85	99	94

EEC consumption — 100 per cent

*1980/81

This-will-foil-the-forgers claim made for new Euro passport



A European passport said to be forgery-proof is to replace the Federal Republic passport in 1985.

The Bonn Cabinet has thus honoured the resolution of the EEC Council to introduce a uniform Community passport.

In legal terms, the new document will still be a national passport, but the cover will have the imprint "European Community."

Bonn has stressed that the passport will be forgery-proof and, like the new ID card, readable by computer.

It is to be valid for ten years, except for those aged under 26 for whom it will be valid for five years only.

It will cost DM30, more than the DM10 for the current passport.

It will cost DM30, more than the DM10 for the current passport.

According to the Interior Ministry, DM20 is for printing and DM10 for handling.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 July 1983)

New moves [to] combat unemployme[nt]

The EEC is to step up its [...]tion efforts.

Reduction of production [...] ordered by the Commission [...] steel industry mean that 10[...] kers will lose their jobs over [...] two years. In Germany 20,000 [...] be lost.

The Commission has u[rged the] Council of Ministers to come [...] strategy to get the 12 million [...] less back to work.

The key is stimulating in[...] especially in small and medi[...] businessses.

The Commission's annual [...] shows that it has already taken [...] combat unemployment, help sc[...] vers and improve employment [...] ges.

The target group now is peop[le ...] 25.

The Commission has urg[ed the] Council of Ministers to act on [...] its other proposals now gather[ing ...] in various drawers. They inclu[de ...] ter working hours and equal opp[...] ty for men and women.

The Commission has also u[rged the] Council to allocate more money [...] Social Fund, even if this means [...] the limit in the 1984 budget.

It has demanded that the Soci[al ...] be boosted by about 42 per c[ent ...] DM5.5bn and intends to use hal[f ...] money to reduce youth unempl[oyment].

But the Council will not meet [...] mand because there just is not [...] money to go around — primar[ily be]cause it is needed for agricultur[e ...] has absolute priority.

Unlike social policy, which [...] even coordinated, the Comm[unity's] agricultural policy is fully integ[rated].

The Commission now hopes [...] agreed that the ten member na[tions ...] more into Community coffe[rs ...] hopes are fickle.

Hans [...]

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, [...])

BUSINESS

American punters get stock market running with the bulls

[Ge]rman stock prices reached a new post-war peak in early July. Bro[kers w]ere hard put to cope.

[Am]erican investors were mainly re[sponsi]ble. Why American institutional [invest]ors almost simultaneously decid[ed t]o buy German shares will remain [a s]ecret of their portfolio managers.

[Ru]mour at German stock exchanges [ha]s that Chancellor Helmut Kohl's [...]s during his visit to Moscow res[...] the American faith in Germany [...]ing violent demonstrations [again]st US Vice-President Bush in Kre[feld]. There is no proof of this, but there [coul]d be something to it.

[Po]litical elements influence invest[ment] decisions in America, as else[where].

[Am]erican demand for German stock [...] in August last year when it became [obvi]ous that the Social-Liberal era in [Bonn] was ending. This was when the [...]h era in West Germany began. Ac[cord]ing to speculators, there is no end [in s]ight yet.

[Am]erican interest in German stock [conti]nues because investors there think the American economic upturn will spread to Western Europe. More[over,] the investors rely on pundits who [fores]ast rising profits in Germany.

[M]ost blue-chip companies in Germa[ny,] insiders say, will show improved [pro]fits as early as this year, despite the [fact] that sales will grow only marginal[ly].

More efficient

[Thi]s is because corporate planners [have] managed to bring costs under con[trol a]nd are now operating more cost-[effici]ently than a year ago.

[M]ost German banks and their custo[mers] have been taken totally by surprise [by th]is bullishness. Only a few weeks [ago t]hey thought that it would be short-[lived], lasting as far as autumn at best. [T]hey seem to have been wrong.

[G]ermans have suddenly also jumped [on]to the bandwagon. There are billions [...] around waiting to be invested.

[So]me insurance companies summon[ed] the courage last year to fill their [port]folios at rock-bottom prices. They held on to the stock until just after the election in March that swept the centre-right coalition to power and then sold at a profit, contenting themselves with gains until then.

Today, many are sitting on a great deal of cash, waiting for stock prices to go down again so that they can buy again at bargain rates.

In these past few weeks, however, some of the institutional investors have given up the hope of declining prices, admitting that they were over-cautious when they sold in March.

Now, they are buying back at a premium what they virtually gave away in the spring. This is costly and annoying but still better and cheaper than doing nothing.

The institutional investors, among them several funds that handle insurance portfolios, have to compete with private investors who have also decided to profit from the bullishness, using their banks as brokers.

Much of this money comes from short-term fixed deposits that have matured and are not being re-invested because of the low interest paid.

Not too long ago, investors liked to put their money into tax saving write-off schemes. But this has now given way to stock market speculation — partly because many of the investors in write-off projects did not fare too well and partly because they now realise that they can make a profit free of tax in the stock market as well, and without much trouble with the tax department.

Profits from privately owned appreciating stocks are tax-free if the stock is sold more than six months after purchase date.

It is therefore not surprising that investing in stock is gaining in popularity. Those who declared 1983 the "year of the stock" have been proved right.

The run on stocks has hurt fixed interest securities which had their heyday in the high-interest years. This year, interest earnings will not even offset depreciation.

Banking circles say that this is one of the reasons why the money from earnings on fixed interest securities is no longer recycled into such papers but invested in stocks. Naturally, there is not only boundless optimism; there are also some warning voices. Most — not all — of these voices come from Opposition politicians who don't understand why there is such faith in the Kohl government despite the fact that the economic upturn is far from tangible in terms of facts and figures. But the stock market is not concerned with the present. Its quotations reflect anticipated developments. Right now, the market reflects the fact that the measures initiated by the Bonn government will promote investment through tax saving.

Some of these — admittedly not very spectacular — measures are already in operation and are pretty certain to show in the 1983 corporate balance sheets.

Stock exchange insiders are in no way dismayed by the fact that, unlike France, Bonn is not directly subsidising stock purchases. After all, it is much better to invest in a highly profitable company.

Despite the many positive facets, securities experts are sure that German stock markets will not be spared their setbacks and adjustments.

Stock prices are unlikely to be threatened by economic developments which are seen in a realistic light. The threat could come from a new rise in interest rates. This would not only jeopardise our economic recovery but could also make investors turn their backs on stock and opt for high-yield fixed interest securities instead.

The trouble is that German rates depend on those in America and that the Bundesbank has already gone as far as it could in cutting them. All it can do now is make temporary and minor adjustments.

The fact that rising American interest rates also make the dollar rate rise is discomfiting for German investors.

Theoretically, a high dollar rate makes German industry more competitive on foreign markets. The fact that there is little evidence of this right now is due to the financial problems of some Opec countries and most African and Latin American states, not to mention the Soviet Bloc.

Stock market pundits see yet another advantage in a high dollar rate: it makes the purchase of German stock attractive for Americans. Not only do they stand a change of profiting from appreciation; they can also expect to profit from the exchange rate.

German monetary experts regard the dollar as overvalued against the deutschemark. This is bound to change as soon as America has abolished its high interest rate policy.

Most banks are agreed that when this happens the bullishness of the stock market will continue. In the meantime, they advise buying stock likely to attract foreign investors when it takes a dip.

They also advise buying stock that has not appreciated commensurate with a company's prospects. This, incidentally, includes the stock of Germany's major chemical corporations although their stock, too, has risen more than 30 per cent since the beginning of the year.

Kurt Wendt

(Die Zeit, 15 July 1983)

Securities in private hands

Values in DMbn

	1972	1976	1982
Fixed interest (Property bonds, Local govt bonds, Others)	59,3	112,2	255,8
Company stocks	56,0	58,4	66,4

4742



■ FLASHBACK

Still controversial after 50 years: Papal concordat with Hitler's Germany

The concordat signed 50 years ago between the Holy See and the German Reich remains controversial, especially the conduct of the Catholic Church.

The negotiations were concluded in record time. Only a few months elapsed between the start of the talks in early April, the signing of the document in July and its ratification in September.

The German negotiator and signatory was Franz von Papen, deputy chancellor in the government formed by Hitler in January 1933.

Von Papen, a right-wing Catholic and opponent of the Weimar Republic, was well known for his human frailties. Acting behind the scenes, he helped heave Hitler into power.

The Vatican's negotiator and subsequent signatory was the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII). Pacelli had been the papal nuncio to Munich and later to Berlin from 1917 to 1929.

Because of his initiative the Vatican was able to conclude the state concordat with Bavaria (1924) and Prussia (1929).

Pacelli's top adviser at the time was the clergyman and professor of canon law in Trier, Ludwig Kaas.

In 1928, Kaas was elected chairman of the Catholic Centre Party; and the day after his party approved of the 23 March 1933 Emergency Powers Bill that gave Hitler sweeping dictatorial powers, he left his party in the lurch and went to Rome.

Incomprehensible though it might be, Kaas returned to Berlin to confer with Hitler at the beginning of April that year. For the rest, he left his party to fend for itself, devoting himself entirely to the concordat talks.

The concordat itself is a compact of 34 articles. It grants the Catholic Church in Germany the freedom to publicly practise its religion. It also settles such points as the legal independence and privileged position of the Church, the Church press, relations between Church and State, etc.

The Vatican wanted to gain state recognition for parochial schools. Hitler was only prepared to grant this if the Curia agreed to withdraw all Catholic clergy from political life.

For the Catholic Church in Germany, this was a more far-reaching demand than it would have been in other countries.

What it boiled down to was the self-disbandment of the Centre Party and the Bavarian People's Party, of the Christian trade union movement and of political youth associations.

The signing of the concordat in July 1933 was a resounding success for Hitler.

Although the Vatican press reacted with aloofness, this "handshake with the Papacy" (Cardinal Bertram) was the first foreign affairs success of the Hitler regime and the Nazi propaganda machinery made the most of it by depicting the concordat as recognition of the Hitler dictatorship by the moral authority par excellence: the Pope.

The Curia came under fire from the international press (a French paper said that the cross had bowed to the swastika).

This is also the inescapable impression one gains on reading the German bishops' letters of thanks to Hitler. Wrote Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich: "Your statesmanlike foresight achieved in six months what the old parliaments and parties failed to achieve in 60 years."

Faulhaber made a bid to obtain an amnesty from Hitler; but the Nazi excesses against the Catholic Church continued unabated even after the signing of the concordat.

The Nazi terror hit above all Catholic societies and youth organisations.

The imprecise text of Article 31 of the concordat (dealing with Catholic organisations) backfired. The Curia and the Episcopate could still have negotiated a list of protected organisations before the concordat was ratified.

Hitler's methods of persecution kept changing: at times jobless members of Catholic organisations were denied jobs unless they joined the SA stormtroopers; at other times, Catholic civil servants were axed on grounds of "political unreliability"; and chicanery against the Catholic press was stepped up.

Why then did the Vatican sign this document — especially in view of the fact that Vatican diplomats are said to have viewed Hitler's Germany with the greatest of scepticism? Why sign a compact bedded into the complicated mesh of German, Vatican and Italian interests, lending the document an obvious domestic policy dimension?

Historians are divided in their assessment, and one of the reasons for this is that the Vatican archives have remained inaccessible to researchers.

One view, held primarily by Catholic historians, stresses that the Curia acted under Nazi pressure when signing the concordat and that the deal was made in order to salvage what could still be salvaged.

They also stress the protective function of the concordat, saying that the document provided a legal basis for the Catholic Church's nonconformism with National Socialism (Konrad Repgen).

Other historians censure the Curia, saying that the Vatican's one-sided efforts to provide a contractual basis for canon law in Germany were tantamount to forfeiting political Catholicism. They also say that the Pope's peace with Hitler meant vacating a bastion against Nazism without putting up a fight (Klaus Scholder).

A look at the events that preceded the concordat sheds some light on the motivations of the parties to it and on the problems that faced the Vatican.

Pope Pius XI's and Eugenio Pacelli's long-term aim was to use concordats as an instrument with which to imbed Catholic canon law and the Catholic judiciary into state law.

The Curia realised in the 1920s that there were two ways of achieving this.

During his time as papal nuncio in a parliamentary Germany, Eugenio Pacelli found that it would be near impossible to bring about a concordat with the Reich and that the best that could be achieved would be a state concordat.

But these concordats called for major concessions by the Curia.

The concordat the Vatican concluded with fascist Italy in 1929 (the so-called Lateran Treaty) showed the Pope and his secretary of state how much easier it was to arrive at results favourable to the Church when dealing with authoritarian rather than parliamentary regimes.

The Vatican's sympathy for an authoritarian concept of state was fostered still further by the Curia's traditional suspicion of liberal-pluralistic and democratic ideas and its rigid anti-communism.

Popes Pius XI and Pius XII in particular pursued this course with tenacity.

It was during their papacies that most of the concordats were concluded, the last two (and most important one in the post-1945 era) being those with the "clerically fascist" regimes of Portugal (1950) and Spain (1953).

Although this course seems to have met with still criticism even within the Curia, it would be wrong to minimise the Vatican's tenacity and see Pius XI and Pacelli as part of a group that wanted to negotiate with Hitler but without "pressure and the intention to conclude the treaty" (Konrad Repgen).

The assumption is said to have been that the Nazi regime would be shown for what it was with or without the concordat:

If the concordat was not signed, the Hitler regime's unrestrained demands would become publicly known; if it was signed, the Curia would be able to publicly charge the regime with breach of treaty.

Its experience in the 19[…] concept of state are likely to […] the Vatican assume shortly after […] accession to power on 30 Jan[…] that a concordat with a Germ[…] him was feasible.

This seems to be substantia[…] fact that Kaas, the chairman of […] tholic Centre Party, had at […] point written an essay praising […] eran Treaty as a "paradigm of […] significance."

Referring to the concordat […] he wrote: "An authori[…] should be more capable than […] understanding the authoritar[…] lates of the Church."

This is exactly what Hitler […] Lateran Treaty, which also co[…] "depolitisation article," showed […] political tactics that could be […] break the resistance against the […] gime of Germany's Catholics.

He concluded that he had […] an arrangement in direct dea[…] the Pope.

It is probably along these […] Hitler and von Papen drafted […] cordat blueprint shortly after the […] 1933 "elections."

They informed Kaas of their […] portant terms. In turn, Kaas […] have undertaken to make his […] Party vote in favour of the E[…] Powers Bill. (Chancellor […] Brüning in his memoirs).



The concordat is signed in Rome: from left (seated) the German deputy Chancellor, Franz von Papen; Papal Nuncio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII); Dr Rudolf Buttmann of the Reich Interior Ministry; and Eugen Klee of the Reich Embassy to the Vatican. (Photo: F. W. […])

Though nationalistic emotion[…] cal resignation and disintegra[…] dencies played a role in the de[…] the two Catholic parties to vot[…] Enabling Law, the envisaged co[…] was probably the decisive eleme[…]

This could also explain why the […] man bishops moderated their […] towards Hitler. Only a few d[…] the Centre Party approved of the […] ing Bill, the bishops withdrew the[…] nings against the Nazi regime i[…] on 28 March 1933.

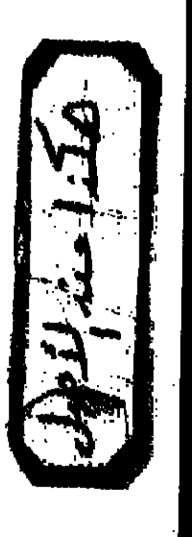
Many documents indicate th[…] decision was prompted by the i[…] ing concordat negotiations, […] standing the fact that it became […] singly obvious during the talks […] Church sought to protect the […] from the Nazis.

It is undeniable that the conc[…] forded both churches a certain […] tion until 1945.

But in the summer of 1933, w[…] ments of German Catholics wa[…] ed by the attitude of the Curia […] Episcopate, and some consider[…] right shameful. Others, riding […] wave of national euphoria […] gious undertones, welcomed the […] in the ties between the Catholic C[…] and the Nazi regime.

Eckart […]

(Deutsches Allgemeines S[…])



THE ENVIRONMENT

The naughty companies named at tribunal

[…]ou poison your mother-in-law with […] overdose of arsenic you are likely […]end the rest of your life behind […]

[…] you are responsible as a factory […]ager for pumping kilos of arsenic […] the Rhine you are most unlikely to […] to move from the manager's office […] prison cell.

[…] the Rhine is the source of […]ng-water for roughly 20 million […]peans.

[…]ious environmental offences are […]r not prosecuted or lead to sentences that are negligible, the German Po[…] Federation not long ago complain[…]

[…]e authorities are not even required […]efer charges. They often prefer to […]otiate with offenders, with the result […] pollution may continue for dec[…]

[…]hese sluggardly ways of officialdom […]home and abroad could soon be […]ght to an abrupt end in the wake of […]ibunal to be held in Rotterdam this […]ober.

[…]bout 90 environmental protection […]nisations from nine EEC countries […]olding the International Water Tri[…], and the publicity could prove […]inconvenient for a number of go[…]ments.

[…]he aim is to demonstrate to politi[…] and the judiciary what they ought *[…]e doing* to stem the tide of water […]tion.

[…]iefs have already been drawn up to […]light the environmental misbehaviour of 18 companies, including Bayer […] Hoechst, Norddeutsche Affinerie, […]H. Boehringer, Kronos Titan and […]lerwerk Waldhof Aschaffenburg of […]many.

[…]he accusations made in the briefs […]more than enough to warrant crimi[…] proceedings," says Gerd Billen of […]U, the German environmental pro[…]tion association.

[…]ast Germany also stands accused of […]ustrial pollution of the rivers Werra […] Weser, which flow through the Fed[…] Republic of Germany into the […]th Sea.

[…]he Rotterdam tribunal will hold its […]ceedings even if the alleged offen[…] make no attempt to defend them[…]ves (as is most unlikely in the GDR's […]).

[…]he nine-member international jury […] be required to consider any exten[…]ing circumstances they come across.

[…]he German members of the panel […] Martin Hirsch, a former Constitu[…]al Court judge, Liesel Hartenstein, […] SPD environmental expert, and Pro[…]or Hartmut Bick, former chairman […]he advisory council on environmen[…] affairs to the Bonn Interior Ministry.

[…]here data are not available from of[…]al sources, including water boards, […]y will conduct research of their own […] fill the gaps.

[…]or 18 months an International […]ter Tribunal Foundation has had […]00 water samples chemically analys[…]

[…]he briefs are to be sent to the alleg[…] offenders by early August to allow […]em an opportunity of briefing counsel […]r the defence.

[…] Norddeutsche Affinerie, of Hamburg, […] going to have to explain why the […]gh heavy metal count in the Elbe skyrockets just downstream from where they pump effluent into the river.

Enormous amounts of lead, arsenic, cadmium, zinc, nickel and copper are said to find their way into the Elbe from Hamburg.

Waldhof Aschaffenburg paperworks, of Mannheim, would do well to explain why the Rhine just below where they pump effluent into the river has a chloroform count that shoots up to 630 micrograms per litre.

It so happens that pumping chloroform into the river is totally prohibited. Yet according to the BBU the Mannheim public prosecutor's office is on the point of closing the file and scrapping proceedings against the company.

Environmentalists plan to spend more than 1.5 million guilders on the tribunal. They have already invested 420,000, including generous contributions by several Dutch Ministries, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Dutch water boards.

The water board is unlikely to have hesitated about supporting the venture. In Holland, as in Germany and other neighbouring countries, water boards are sick and tired of pollution.

It affects not only the rivers but even ground water, where more and more dangerous substances tax the ingenuity of purification engineers.

They have to extract from the water what industrial offenders have pumped into it for the sake of convenience, but how are they to set about it when they don't even know what toxins are pumped into potential drinking-water?

About 2,000 different varieties of toxin have so far been indentified, but an estimated 8,000 substances are in the water, including countless carcinogens that to all intents and purposes can no longer be eliminated from the world around us.

Politicians from all countries frequently meet to frame fine-sounding declarations, resolutions and agreements.

"If everything they laid down were put into effect the problem of water pollution would long have been solved," the tribunal writes.

It plans to base its rulings on such international agreements. But pollution in fact gets steadily worse because either the regulations have not been adopted as national law or there are no national or international controls.

Even the counts of EEC-blacklisted substances, the ones that ought, if the Common Market's recommendations were mandatory, to be kept completely out of the water cycle, are steadily increasing.

Industrialised countries such as Britain, Belgium, Holland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark and Norway pump some substances straight into the sea because they are far too dangerous to be released into the rivers.

Official figures put the amount dumped in this way at between seven and eight million tonnes a year.

In 1978 that included 73 tonnes of cadmium, 39 tonnes of mercury and 53 tonnes of halogenised hydrocarbons. All are blacklisted and will survive to pollute the water for ages, if not for ever.

There have been urgent reports of North Sea fish covered in sores, of seriously depleted fish stocks and of much-reduced flora and fauna in the North Sea.

The alarm on these counts was sounded by the advisory council to the Bonn Interior Ministry, while other experts report that mussels are polluted by heavy metals.

Yet industrial effluent continues to be pumped into the sea.

Jürn G. Praetorius

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 16 July 1983)

Date set for lead-free petrol

From 1986 all new cars must be fitted with exhaust catalysts and use lead-free fuel.

This should reduce by 90 per cent the nitrous oxides causing the atmospheric pollution that has been identified as to blame for the death of trees.

In retrospect the move seems to have been made surprisingly fast.

Social, Free and Christian Democrats all ended up clamouring for Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann to ensure that Germany took the lead on this aspect of pollution.

He was shrewd enough to oblige, originally having intended to introduce regulations from 1990 and only in conjunction with other EEC countries.

January 1986, the new deadline, is a compromise. It is a deadline even the slowest manufacturer can meet. But it depends on lead-free fuel being made available and marketed cheaper by means of tax incentives, as suggested by the Bundesrat.

Motor manufacturers who already sell clean-air export models on the domestic market, or are shortly to do so, will then stand a chance of finding buyers.

Many old cars without catalysts will then be able to use lead-free fuel, which should help to relieve pressure on the environment.

Herr Zimmermann can only be wished all the best in his task of coordinating moves with other Common Market countries. With forests dying fast, action is indispensable.

Jürn G. Praetorius

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 15 July 1983)

Ships caught red-handed spilling oil

The *Vaishava Mohini*, a Bombay-registered general cargo freighter, was caught discharging oil off Borkum, an island in the North Sea.

Her captain had just given the order to pump used oil into the sea when a *Bundesgrenzschutz* helicopter flew past and saw the telltale stains in the water.

The German border patrol officers ordered the freighter to stop pumping immediately. Radio contact was no problem from a vantage point overhead.

The *Vaishava Mohini* was heading for Felixstowe, England.

Another ship, the *Vaishava Jyoti*, was off Fehmarn in the Baltic and heading for the Kiel Canal.

She had a long tail of oil. The slick was spotted by a Bundesbahn officer on board the Baltic ferry *Deutschland*, which runs between Puttgarden and Rödby, Denmark.

A message was radioed to the police water division in Heiligenhafen.

The slick was seven and a half miles long and between 150 and 300 yards wide. The border patrol and water division in Kiel were alerted.

When the *Vaishava Jyoti* steamed into the locks of the Kiel Canal her captain was in for a nasty surprise. He had to pay a deposit of DM10,000 in respect of the environmental proceedings against him in a Kiel court.

These are two of the first cases resulting from the work of the *Bundesgrenzschutz* coastal command, Bad Bramstedt, in Schleswig-Holstein.

It is probably mere coincidence that both offenders were Indian-registered vessels. The May report lists eight offenders in the North Sea and the Baltic.

They included oil slicks of unknown origin up to three miles long and 500 yards wide and a Scandinavian freighter caught pumping a yellow liquid into the sea.

Her captain was radioed to ask what it was and calmly replied that it was merely ballast sludge. The public prosecutor is investigating the case.

Eight offences in a month may not be many, but how many got away? Coastal command and the Bonn Interior Ministry have no illusions.

Bundesgrenzschutz spokesmen say the cases they have spotted are more good luck than good management, which is likely enough, given that only two patrol boats have been transferred from the Baltic to the North Sea.

Ships are hardly going to be deterred by a handful of patrol boats and a few hours logged by helicopters.

The authorities in Bonn are well aware that the North Sea patrols are only a start, and a modest one. Time has almost run out.

Transport Minister Werner Dollinger has just made a suggestion that is far from new yet has still not been acted on.

The coastal *Länder*, he said, meaning the ports, ought to charge reasonable fees to persuade shipping to use port facilities for dumping waste oil.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann hopes the list of offenders caught in May (there will probably have been even fewer in June) will back up his case for commissioning four new fast patrol boats.

The Zimmermann armada, as it has been dubbed in Bonn, has failed to make headway so far because of opposition by a northerner.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, a former Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, says there is no money available for the craft.

Joachim Stoltenberg

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 14 July 1983)

TRANSPORT

Magnet train experiment to be run in Berlin

West Berlin's U-Bahn (U for Underground, or subway) and S-Bahn (or suburban electric railway) will soon be joined by a new letter in the public transport alphabet.

It is the M-Bahn (M for magnet), or hovertrain, which is due to run experimentally from 1986, carrying an estimated 10,000 passengers per day.

They will glide almost noiselessly over a magnetic guide-rail in an unmanned railcar at a speed of 35km/h, or 22mph.

Bonn has backed hovertrain research and development for about a decade. A hovertrain has logged over 200,000km on a trial section of track in Brunswick.

The technique works, but hovertrains have yet to carry passengers on a regular operational basis.

The Berlin M-Bahn will link Gleisdreieck, a U-Bahn junction, and Kemperplatz (for the Philharmonie, the Nationalgalerie, the Staatsbibliothek, the Academy of Arts and so on).

The distance is 1.6km, or a mile, and the track will built in two stages, the first involving conversion of 600 metres of U-Bahn track towards Potsdamer Platz.

The first hovertrain will be put through its paces along this section of track early next year. The remainder of the track will then be built, overhead and on pylons, to Kemperplatz.

The two sections are scheduled for completion by spring 1986. Passenger services will operate regularly, but on an experimental basis, until 1988. Then, all being well, the M-Bahn will continue as a permanent feature of the city's public transport network.

The Bonn government and Berlin city council are to contribute DM50m toward the cost of the project, with the Research and Technology Ministry footing 75 per cent of the bill.

Munich also applied to host the project, but Berlin was chosen as a centre of transport research.

The hovertrain is hailed as a public transport system with a bright future because it uses 20 to 30 per cent less energy than other tracked systems.

Hovertrain railcars are considered to require no maintenance at all. They are unmanned. The hovertrain is fully automated.

The man who devised the M-Bahn, Goetz Heidelberg, a 60-year-old physicist, plans to move his research centre to Berlin from Bavaria.

He outlines the design principles and advantages of his system in relation to existing techniques as follows:

The M-Bahn has neither an electric motor nor a wheeled chassis in the conventional sense. It is run by a linear engine and magnets extending along the entire length of the track.

There is no need for the heavy substructure of U- and S-Bahn track because hovertrains weigh only about half as much as conventional electric railcars.

The expense in terms of construction and material is thus reduced to about a third in comparison. The M-Bahn is also virtually noiseless and emits no exhaust fumes.

In outlying areas the U- and S-Bahn run infrequently outside the rush hour to cut costs, whereas the M-Bahn can run at five-minute intervals whenever it is needed.

The extra cost is negligible because one- or two-car hovertrains can be run, using very little energy, and as they are unmanned the wage bill is the same.

Elmar Pieroth, Berlin's Senator of Economic Affairs and Transport, feels the M-Bahn could prove most important, and not just by improving transport facilities in the city.

It presents an opportunity of Berlin regaining the lead it establi[...] the war, when it had the most [...] S-Bahn network in the world.

The M-Bahn can be run b[...] head and underground, and [...] wer tunnels should cut cos[...] than a third.

West Berlin has several do[...] of disused S-Bahn track. They [...] converted to M-Bahn.

The project is managed by [...] tium including the BVG, Berli[...] transport system, the inv[...] AEG, the company that are b[...] system.

The pilot project will keep [...] kers busy at AEG, where then[...] to export the system worldwi[...] ries are said to have been ma[...] by Calcutta, Mexico City [...] Paulo.

Liselott[...]

(Frankfurter Neue Press[...])

Magnet train . . . silent progress. (Photo: AEG)

EXHIBITIONS

How the Grand Vizier lost a city and his head as well

[...]nkfurter Rundschau

[...]ee hundred years ago a Turkish [...]my of 250,000 men began its siege [...]nna. The siege lasted from 14 July [...] September.

[...] Ottoman empire was, oddly [...]h, a multinational one, just as the [...]o-Hungarian empire was later to [...]me.

[...]enna's defences were along what is [...] the city-centre ring road. The [...]s concentrated their attacks on a [...]r extending from the Hofburg, or [...]er Imperial palace, to the Burg[...]ter.

[...]ey drove an extensive system of [...]els under this part of the besieged [...] with the aim of blasting the walls [...] a condition in which they could be [...]med.

[...]e Turkish army was led by Grand [...]er Kara Mustafa, a man renowned [...] his brutality and cunning.

[...] portrait of him painted about 15 [...]a after the siege of Vienna shows [...] bowing his turbaned head in a ges[...] that is a strange plea for sympathy. [...] is as though he knew what fate was [...] befall him. After the failure of the [...]ge of Vienna the Sultan, Mehmet IV, [...] *him* beheaded that winter in Bel[...]e.

[...]eopold I, the Holy Roman Empe[...] thwarted the Turkish advance on [...] Austrian capital by raising a motley [...]y to come to its relief.

[...]e was greatly aided by the financial [...]cking lent for ideological motives by [...]e Innocent XI.

[...]e army raised to relieve the siege [...]sisted of Imperial troops, South [...]man auxiliaries and an expeditiona[...] corps led by King Jan Sobieski of [...]and.

[...]obieski commanded the Allied army [...] about 70,000 men, which was thus [...]ch smaller than the Turkish army, [...] led it into attack from the Turks' [...] on 12 September 1683.

[...]e attacked from the Kahlenberg [...]ghts. Vienna lies at the foot of the [...]ghts and it is hard to imagine why [...] Turks could have failed to station [...] up there to keep their rear free.

[...]hey were utterly routed, fled and [...] nearly everything behind, including [...]usands of tents (Kara Mustafa's too) [...] religious objects, not to mention [...]e arsenals of weaponry.

[...]e Allies' success became legendary [...] was glorified along the most varied [...]ological lines, latterly by the Nazis [...] the victory of the West over the East.

[...]n exhibition to mark the tricenten[...] is being held in the Künstlerhaus [...] Karlsplatz, opposite Fischer Erlach's [...]iskirche, the towers of which resem[...] Turkish minarets.

[...]n keeping with current Western Eu[...]pean thought the exhibition steers a [...]e berth of any claim to ideological [...]mph.

[...]ts aim is to entertain as befits the oc[...]sion but, above all, to present a fair [...]tline of the course of events 300 years [...]o.

[...]n a kind of prelude the tense situa[...]on in Europe is portrayed in the wake [...] the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, that marked the end of the Thirty Years' War.

The Turkish expansion is shown to have been not just the result of domestic difficulties within the Ottoman empire but prompted by the disputes between Austria and Louis XIV's France along the Rhine.

Emperor Leopold's commitments in the West laid his empire's eastern flank wide open to attack by Turkey, as did the uprisings and unrest in Hungary following the reimposition of Roman Catholicism.

Time and again the accomplishments of Turkish civilisation are emphasised. Their westward advance may have had barbaric consequences but the march on Vienna was not undertaken by barbarians.

To be fair, history must make such distinctions, and not just in this case.

Architecture, painting, fashion, ways of life and social institutions in 17th century Constantinople and Vienna are compared and contrasted.

The exhibition is an advertisement for the erstwhile enemy. Exhibits have been loaned by museums all over the world, but the finest probably come from Cracow.

Sobieski's Polish forces made sure of the best booty, a fact that is still resented in Vienna.

Poland recently suggested the erection of a monument to Sobieski in Vienna, but there were protests from the Austrian public in recollection of the Poles' rapacity 300 years ago.

The exhibition, staged by the architect Hans Hollein with scientific backing from staff of the Viennese Historical Museum, is one of the city's major attractions this summer.

It was opened in May and will last until the end of October. At the time of writing over 150,000 people had seen it.

It is an attempt to convey information on the historical events in the form of events as they were experienced at the time.

Hollein has clad the facade of the exhibition building, for instance, in a mock-up of an ornamental Turkish marquee in the middle of Vienna as though the Turks had won.

The presentation of material inside does justice to the subject. The 1683 siege is not portrayed as an isolated event; it is seen in the wider political context of the emergence of the Ottoman empire from the mid-15th century. Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1543, and by the early 16th century they came into conflict with the Habsburgs as they advanced into the Balkans, which were regarded as part of the Austrian sphere of influence. The first Turkish army advanced almost as far as Vienna in 1529. It was led by Süleyman the Magnificent. In the Mediterranean the Turkish expansion clashed with the claims of Venice.



Plea for sympathy went unheard . . . Kara Mustafa, the Turkish Grand Vizier and battle leader.

Off Lepanto in 1571 the Venetians defeated the Turks in one of the most famous naval batles in history.

As visitors walk round the exhibition the date of the siege comes steadily closer. Contemporary portraits feature the protagonists representing the various European ruling dynasties in about 1650.

There is the Austrian emperor, Leopold I, a man renowned for his unusual ugliness. There is portly Sobieski, Louis XIV and the slender, ambitious Pope Innocent XI, whose diplomatic endeavour and hard cash raised the army that relieved Vienna.

Then, at the vanishing point of the exhibition, as it were, the scenario of a battle scene unfolds.

It is a theatrical scene with full-size three-dimensional horses, uniforms, weapons, tents. The noise of battle is relayed by loudspeaker.

At the end of the show the laughter of the victors in relieved Vienna is heard.

Son-et-lumière displays of this kind may be in keeping with the public interest in visualising what history must have been like, but they also come very close to history as kitsch.

The organisers of the Vienna exhibition minimise the risk of their step in this direction by following history as entertainment by serious, factual documentation.

They rightly rely on the intrinsic value of the exhibits, especially the Turkish weapons, tents and banners.

Peace-loving though we may all claim to be, most people are greatly attracted by displays of militaria and warfare.

Visitors are surprised to lean that although the Turks used firearms they also had archers who could hit targets accurately at distances of up to 900 metres.

A final section deals with the repercussions of the siege, from the political decline of the Ottoman empire to a Viennese confectionery that is said to be crescent-shaped in memory of the siege.

The Viennese, it is implied, ate Turks in the form of delicious Kipferl for breakfast every morning.

As for the Viennese nobility, they certainly developed a predilection for the Turkish four-poster, each bedpost portraying a Turk fettered and humiliated.

At masked balls Turkish costumes were very much in favour. The erstwhile threat was converted and suppressed into a form of amusement.

The exhibition is full of anecdotes such as these but it by no means neglects details of interest from the history of art and the arts.

It is striking how important painting was in those days as a means of spreading news and portraying events, surprising too how effective it was.

There are many video display units at the exhibition that offer extra material, but they are much less effective than the contemporary paintings.

Visitors can compare the way in which European painters dealt with the siege with the naiver, almost childlike portrayal of it in richly illustrated Turkish manuscripts.

The difference testifies to the extent to which two major and highly developed civilisations differed that clashed outside Vienna at the lowest level of dispute, war.

That brings one back to political fac-

The allied army after victory . . . attack from the rear. (Drawings: Catalogue)

Continued on page 12

■ THE ARTS

The wanderings of a nomadic woodcarver

To mark the 450th anniversary of the death of Veit Stoss, the great sculptor and woodcarver, Nuremberg has mounted a major show of his works in a number of the city's churches and at the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum.*

Veit Stoss was the firebrand among Germany's artists of that era of historic upheaval that was ushered in by Martin Luther and his Reformation. And it is only fitting for Nuremberg, the artist's home town, to celebrate the anniversary of his death along with the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth.

Unfortunately, some of the most important early works of Veit Stoss could not be included in the show because of his nomadic life.

The direction of Stoss' wanderings, however, different greatly from that of his contemporaries. While they were attracted by the Italian Renaissance, Stoss headed East for Poland.



Veit Stoss' Crucifixion

(Photos: Catalogue)

Having learned his art from Nicolaus Gerhaert of Leyden, the great Dutch sculptor who had a tremendous influence on the late Gothic sculpture of Germany (especially that of Nuremberg), Stoss forwent his Nuremberg citizen's rights and accepted a commission in Cracow when he was about 30 (1477).

There he sculpted many tombs for the Polish royal family and the majestic High Altar (carved in limewood and painted) of the Church of St. Mary's in Cracow.

This was followed by a period of



wandering between Cracow, Breslau and Nuremberg.

Towards the end of the 15th century, he tried to regain citizenship rights in *his home town.* The city refused, and when he found that he had been defrauded of his savings he attempted to regain them by forgery.

The forgery was discovered and he was imprisoned and branded on both cheeks. To regain his freedom, he had to promise never to leave the city again.

The rest of Stoss' life until his death in 1533 was marked by constant disputes with the city council.

To make matters worse, he went blind. After his death, his works were more or less ignored, unlike those of his contemporary, Albrecht Dürer.

He was buried without any official acknowledgment in the Johannis Cemetery, and it was not until 50 years later that a Nuremberg document mentioned his grave as bearing no more than his name and coat of arms. His descendents later added a simple bronze plaque.

The restlessness of the artist is expressed in his works, as the Nuremberg show demonstrates.

The excellent catalogue keeps referring time and again to the artist's Cracow works which are also a focal point of the lectures illustrated by slides.

It is a uniquely enchanting experience to see his *Der Englische Gruss* (1517/18) in the choir of the late Gothic Sankt Lorenz church spotlighted at night.

There are also his early Archangel Michael (before 1477), the Crucifixion (1516-1520) at the High Altar, flanked by Mary and John plus St. Laurence, the patron saint of the church, and St. Stephen (all made around 1520 and lined up along the inner sacristy wall of the church).

However, the illustrated lecture held from the altar does not deal with these early and late works of the artist but with his main early work, the carved High Altar of Cracow's Church of St. Mary's (1477-1489). With its height of more than 16 metres, this is the largest altar of late German Gothic.

The Cracow Altar was recently renovated, in the course of which it had to be taken apart into individual sculpture tablets, groups and figures. This provided new information on details that would never have come to light without the restoration work.

It is unlikely that another opportunity to study the work so closely will arise because it has meanwhile been reassembled.

The Cracow Altar sheds light on works the master created at other times and in different places.

It anticipates the essence of Veit Stoss' art: *theatrum sacrum* with its powerful figures whose motions and gestures seem alive.

The viewer feels a desire to talk with these figures, to dance and laugh and be sad with them.

The master sculptor was a keen observer and this shows in his works.

Like in Cologne, where the Rhineland Madonnas of the Middle Ages seem to be people one still meets in the street, one can frequently see Veit Stoss' apostles and Marys in the streets of Nuremberg.

Veit Stoss' St. John

Cracow is also said to be ... with living Veit Stoss sculptures.

The *Erzengel Raphael und ... Tobias* group (1516), which is ... one metre in height and is one ... the *Germanisches Nationalm...* the realisation of a Florentine ... the wingless angel is regarded ... protector of young merchants' ... bias) while abroad.

The gesture of the leader of ... pointing the way exudes ... as the boy who seeks ... holding another's arm.

Karl-Jürgen K...

(Rheinische Post, ...)





Grand Vizier

Continued from page 11

tors, and the topical relevance is also mentioned at the exhibition. The Turkish advance into Western Europe was prompted by Habsburg weakness to the east.

In the final analysis the Turks may have misjudged their true strength, as their defeat outside Vienna proved, but in a way they can be said to have been invited to move in.

It is well worth taking a fresh look at this idea in the context of the current at this idea in the context of the current arms debate.

Peter Iden

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 July 1983)

The late Werner Egk, composer without a home

The death of composer Werner Egk has stripped the German music scene of one of its most stimulating personalities.

Egk was born in Auchsesheim near Donauwörth in 1901 and his personality clearly bore the traits of his Bavarian-Swabian homeland, though he was intellectually closer to the romance culture and mentality.

Equally interested in the fine arts, literature and music, he eventually opted for the latter.

He said about himself: "I learned when and where I could though I studied under very few teachers, none of them a major maestro.

"In terms of music, I therefore have no family tree and stand entirely alone in the heart of this evil world. The fact that my works were nevertheless performed and I found a publisher testifies to the integrity of our musical life."

For a man as homeless as Egk described himself, he was remarkably successful in finding a firm place in German music.

At a time when most of his colleagues arrogantly looked down their noses at radio, Egk composed music for radio plays.

But ultimately it was the theatre that attracted him. He first experimented with the marionette theatre that provided him with the subject of what could well be his best opera: *Die Zaubergeige* (1935)

In 1936, he was appointed conductor at the Berlin State Opera where his opera *Peer Gynt*, premiered in 1938, caused a scandal. It was Hitler himself

Werner Egk ... 'Bavarian Swabian with a French rationalistic brain.'

(Photo: Gerd Pfeiffer)

who intervened and took him out of the journalists' line of fire — a fact that was held against him after 1945

His most successful work was probably the *Abraxas Ballett* of 1948.

This, too, drew fire, this time from Bavarian politicians because it allegedly depicted a black mass. The banning of the work by the then Bavarian ... minister, Alois Hundhammer, ... work a greater success than ... man ballet music since then.

Almost none of the operas ... lowed were played more often ... ther *Circe* (1948) nor *Irische ...* (1955) nor *Die Verlobung in S... mingo* (1963).

By now even his *Government... tor*, which had been played ... following its premiere in Schw... is long forgotten.

As a composer, Egk (who held ... honorary positions and was di... the Berlin Music Academy from ... 1953) absorbed many influences ...

All his music — even that ... concert form — has conspicu... matic elements, making it sound ... were secretly composed for the ...

A master of harmony and ins... tation, Egk was also an impress... lodist.

He never ventured beyond the ... fines of tonality but within these ... nes he used the full gamut of ... point and harmony

He was called a "Bavarian S... with a French rationalistic brain" ... "fanatic of order."

Never at a loss for a quip, he ... himself as a rebel against all ord... reed from above, saying: "Since ... are only few notes, all music ... necessity be repetitious... ... preserve the state, as every sta... knows."

Nobody can accuse Egk of hav... peated himself.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 J...)

CHILDREN

Parents warned on dangers of being dogmatic

Children stand a better chance of developing independent personalities ... parents attitudes are flexible.

...ents who keep to rigid norms of ... our put their children at a disad... ...ge.

...se are findings of a Nuremberg ...tionalist and psychologist, Dr ...gang W. Weiss, who says in a ... that children who are unable to ... often come from homes that are ... over-organised or disorganised.

...milies that consider themselves ...ressive did not help children. Nor families where:

Problems are swept under the carpet ... the sake of harmony.

Everything is done together but ... the father has the final say.

And where traditional orderliness, ...dience and industriousness are re...ded as ideals.

Professor Weiss found that indepen... ...t children who are capable of cop... come from families where everyday ...flicts are openly discussed and ...re dissension is allowed.

In these cases, the child was neither ... protected nor did it lack parental ...port.

He points out that to raise a child ... the confidence to be independent ... was important to teach it to under... ...nd the needs and problems of others.

Much less important was deliberately



trying to develop an independent personality.

Most important by far was for the parents to cooperate and the father to be an integral part of the family. Support by the father is far more important than maternal support if a child is to become independent.

Dr Weiss heads the Educational Institute of the City of Nuremberg.

His study on *Familienstruktur und Selbständigkeitserziehung* (family structure and development of an independent personality), is available in a book (Verlag für Psychologie Dr C.J. Hogrefe, Göttingen, Toronto, Zurich).

The survey took almost ten years. It was awarded the Heinz Maier-Leibnitz Prize for Empirical Sociology in 1982.

The research began in 1973 and was subsequently promoted by the Bonn Ministry for Youth, Family Affairs and Health.

In 1975, the author interviewed 56 teachers of first-year school children, asking them to point out particularly dependent pupils after carefully explaining which criteria to apply.

Three months later, the parents of the 385 children involved received a letter asking them to present their views on child-rearing. They were also asked about various social data.

In 1976, the teachers were asked to re-assess the state of independence reached by the children one year later.

Dr Weiss picked 64 families, dividing them into two. Each group of 32 was identical: father's occupations, the sex and age of children and several of other features were the same. The only difference was in independence allowed to the children.

It turned out that the development of the children towards independence depended not only on conditions within the family but also on outside circumstances.

The higher the father's occupational status and income and the better the the mother's education the more independent the children.

Surprisingly, it almost did not matter whether the child had attended kindergarten before and whether the mother worked.

What did matter was the father's position at work. It turned out that the less say he has at work the less independent the child.

The size of a family and the child's position in relation to its brothers and sisters (though not its sex) appear to have a bearing.

The proportion of independent children is larger in families with two or three children than in those with an only child or those with four or more children.

Independent children are most often second or third children rather than only children or first, fourth, fifth or subsequent ones.

To find out what parents' thought about independence and bringing up children, from what age Dr Weiss asked them: from what age should a child be able to travel alone on a train, join a scout group, go alone on a trip lasting several days, know about contraceptives, actively engage in politics and go out at night?

Apart from these factors, which determine the "outward" independence of a child, the researchers also delved into what he calls the "inner" independence.

This involved the question as to the age from which a child should be asked its own view when it comes to decisions concerning it; from what age it should act on its own to uphold its rights in such cases as unjust treatment at school; from what age it may criticise its parents, have a say in holiday plans, handle pocket money and decide what clothes to wear (but not to buy).

Another subject discussed with the parents was the age from which they felt their child should be able to pick its own friends (not occasional playmates) and decide when to do the homework.

Contrary to widespread views, parental strictness does not have a major bearing on a child's independence.

There was, however, one common trend: the more a child feels that one parent is stricter than the other, the greater the lack of independence.

Fromthe child's point of view, things look somewhat different: children lacking independence (regardless of their sex) consider the mother as the more supportive and the father as the stricter parent.

Independent children, on the other hand, view the parent of the opposite sex as the more supportive and that of the same sex as the stricter one.

Renate I. Mreschar

(General-Anzeiger, 16 July 1983)

Prison the best place to learn crime

Lübecker Nachrichten

About 100 14- and 15-year-old juvenile delinquents are sent to prison ... West Germany every year. Most re... ...to crime after their release.

A Munich University study commis...ed by the Bonn Family Affairs Mi...try says prison is no place for delin...ts in that age group.

On presenting the study, the head of ... research team, Horst Schüler-Sprin...um, said in Bonn that prison senten... for 14- and 15-year-olds neither ...e them mend their ways nor protect ...ety.

Like Warnfried Dettling of the Fami... Affairs Ministry, criminologist ...üler-Springorum recommends that ...enile delinquents go to foster fami... self-help groups or open institu...ns.

According to Dettling, the study calls ... political answers to the problem. ...sistance for juvenile is better than ...on," he said.

This is substantiated by another study ...olving about 600 14- to 15-year-olds ... were sentenced for juvenile delin...ency in 1972 and between 1977 and ...81, receiving various penalties rang... from juvenile prison to warnings.

The ratio of relapses was largest

Continued on page 14

Does it pay to make pupils repeat a class?

Some 260,000 schoolchildren had to repeat classes in the 1981/82 school year, according to the Federal Statistics Office.

This shows that many children cannot handle the curriculum.

As far back as 1974, Willy Stark said in his book *Die Sitzenbleiber-Katastrophe* (the failure catastrophe) that, though every experienced teacher knows of cases where repeating a class was beneficial and led to improved performance, these successes apply primarily to children whose development lags behind or those who have to catch up after long illness.

It can also apply to pupils who react to their failure by developing extreme ambition and improving performance. But this frequently goes at the expense of their overall personalities.

The author concludes that, apart from these exceptions, repeating a class does not lead to better performance.

To establish whether these findings still apply ten years later, the Saarland *Arbeitskammer* and the Teacher Training College took a closer look at

Nordwest Zeitung

Hauptschule (secondary school prior to vocational training) failures.

The study involved 440 students in 16 diferent classes. The conclusions: *Hauptschule* failure is rarely due to problems during elementary school. In four out of five cases, the problems do not occur until a child goes to *Hauptschule.*

The researchers found that *Hauptschule* promotion criteria vary from state to state and district to district. Promotion also depends on the student's luck of the draw in his teacher.

Marked differences in promotion practice show that success or failure in schools depend on the different standards applied in individual states, districts and schools.

The study also tried to establish how schools, teachers and students assess failure.

It finds that with its 260,000 failed students a year, the school system fulfils its function of separating the wheat from the chaff. Non-promotion is a comfortable and organisationally sound practice from the school's vantage point.

The student who has to repeat a class is absorbed by the rising class and the teachers simply hope that "things will fall into place."

Though the learning problems persist and are unlikely to take care of themselves, the schools hope for the best and leave it at that.

Good teachers are mostly aware of the dilemma imposed on them by the schools: they are expected to promote and sort out at the same time. Even the best of them cannot escape making a decision on whether to pass or fail a student.

The ultimate conclusion arrived at in the study is that repeating a class makes no sense in educational terms — not only because it arbitrarily puts the blame on the student, but also because it does nothing to remedy the learning problems.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 9 July 1983)

■ MEDICINE

You might be a genius, say researchers, but that's not really your fault

Many people think that they have achieved what they have because of their own efforts helped by their experiences.

But current research indicates that they are wrong. They are more likely to be born with the qualities that have brought them success (or not).

Electroencephalogram (EEG) tests by a Heidelberg University team headed by Professor Friedrich Vogel indicate that a person's psychological make-up is inherited.

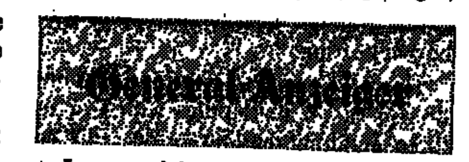
Electroencephalograms (EEGs) are particularly suitable because their patterns are almost entirely determined by hereditary elements.

Identical twins therefore usually also show identical EEG patterns. The differences are as small as the differences in various EEGs taken of the same person.

The EEGs of twins remain almost identical even at such different stages of development as childhood, youth, adulthood and old age and when the twins have lived separate lives in entirely different conditions.

Since these complicated brain currents reflect only the functioning of the brain, they are probably only one side of the coin. The other is the psychological make-up and experience.

Psychological traits that always coincide with specific brain patterns are therefore in all likelihood also hereditary to a large extent.



In an article published in the magazine *Human Gentics* (vol. 62/1982), Vogel shows that the stage young people reach in their psychological maturing process is also largely determined by genetic factors.

The Heidelberg researchers took EEGs of 110 identical and 98 non-identical pairs of twins. They also carried out tests to establish how mature the twins were at various stages. These involved writing essays.

Vogel established that the genetically determined stage of development as shown by the EEG always coincided with the test person's psychological degree of maturity.

As anticipated, identical twins always lines more similar than non-identical twins who shared only half of the genetic material.

Those who wrote better essays also had faster brain waves in their EEGs.

This suggests that the psychological development is largely determined by the physical maturing of the brain as shown in the EEG.

In their book *Ist unser Schicksal angeboren?*, or "Are we born complete with our destinies?" (published by Severin und Siedler Verlag, Berlin) Vogel and his assistant, Dr Peter Propping, show that other qualities are also inherited.

A very small percentage of people have EEG patterns that differ clearly from the average.

One group shows only a low tension EEG picture in which alpha waves that are seen as a sign of peace and concentration do not occur.

Another group with what is called monotonous alpha shows patterns in which these waves are dominant; and a third group shows what is known as a diffuse beta pattern.

It is now seen as an established fact that these unusual variants are part of the genetic material.

Vogel made psychological examinations of 300 of these special cases, finding that each of the three groups has a specific personality profile — in all likelihood also hereditary.

People with a monotonous alpha pattern are usually emotionally stable and dependable; those with a low tension EEG are rather withdrawn and group oriented while those with the beta EEG have problems concentrating and are exceptionally prone to stress.

Research by Propping shows that people with an ill-defined alpha rhyth are in danger of becoming alcoholics.

Alcohol normalises their EEG patterns and gives impulses to their alpha waves.

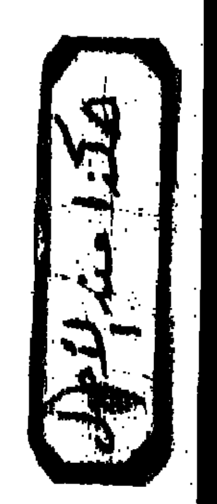
American psychiatrists M. S. Buchsbaum and E. S. Gershon have established that sleep also follows hereditary patterns: identical twins take the same time to reach the different phases of sleep and stay in them for the same length of time.

During the most lively phase of sleep, i.e. the phase of dreaming in colour, man frequently reverts to early childhood. This has been established through EEG patterns by the Swiss psychiatrists Dr M. Koukkou-Lehmann and Professor Lehmann.

In an article published in *Fortschritte der Neurologie* (vol. 48), they say that the EEG patterns produced during a dream are the same as those produced during the dreams of early childhood.

Rolf Degen

(General-Anzeiger, 9 July 1983)



Learning crime

Continued on page 13

among those who went to prison and smallest among those who got off with a warning.

Most of one group of 207 imprisoned juveniles were convicted for theft (52 per cent), followed by robbery or extortion (25 per cent) and attempted murder (11 per cent).

Most of them come from working class families (58 per cent) and low income peripheral groups (22per cent).

Most prison wardens interviewed were also in favour of taking these young people out of jail.

They especially criticise the damaging influence arising from contact with Older, hardened criminals.

Detlling: "It is in prison that many a career in crime beings in earnest."

dpa

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 15 July 1983)

Trying to fi[...] meaning i[...] life's futili[...]

Frustration over the inabili[...] meaning in life was th[...] theme of the 3rd World Co[...] Logotherapy in Regensburg.

The founder of logothe[...] Frankl, of Vienna, along with [...] (Berlin) and E. Lukas (Muni[...] with the question as to the [...] which the growing incidence [...] types of depression, phobia a[...] sion is due to this type of frustr[...]

Frankl said that logofrustr[...] spreading like an epidemic — [...] ly in the Western industrial n[...] the same phenomenon has b[...] observed in communist co[...] well, though there in a someh[...] rent form.

Funke interpreted his p[...] experience with young people [...] fect that this feeling of poi[...] and emptiness makes people [...] aggression.

Lukas and Frankl presented [...] tories of patients who manag[...] themselves of their depression [...] sions with logotherapists enab[...] to find a meaning to their li[...] objective worth the utmost eff[...]

To provide avenues leading [...] ningfulness is the main therap[...] of logotherapists.

Frankl kept stressing that [...] not mean "prescribing" a [...] meaning to a patient becaus[...] something he must find for hi[...] matter of free choice.

Logotherapy, he said, has [...] taken the intellectual dimensio[...] into account along with his [...] and psychological functions. [...] ed for, logotherapy makes use [...] ability to transcend himself a[...] himself with detachment.

Self-transcendence means th[...] approves of the "fundamental [...] fact that like always points t[...] thing outside himself, to a [...] live by or to person-to-pers[...] tions."

"The logotherapeutic method [...] reflection' makes use of these [...] a patient succeeds in directing h[...] tion to an objective, his p[...] self-reflection diminishes and th[...] toms that previously cause[...] problems no longer have a[...] feed on."

E. Lukas pointed to another [...] the so-called "paradoxical in[...] that relies on the patient's abili[...] tachment from himself — "sel[...] the form of a specifically hum[...] ty, i. e. the sense of humour."

If, with the help of the therap[...] patient, in a whim of self-iro[...] ceeds in wishing for the reco[...] the very symptom he fears [...] when talking with a superior, [...] would find that he is no longer [...] of producing the symptom — [...] his own surprise.

Frankl stressed that he does [...] gard logotherapy as the only [...] He said that he regards it is [...] sufficiently substantiated and [...] supplement to other psychoth[...] methods.

There can be no doubt, he sa[...] logotherapy is the suitable app[...] neuroses resulting from a [...] search for a meaning to life.

Walter L[...]

(Die Welt, [...])

MODERN LIVING

Fair wage for fair sex for a fair day's toil — sometimes

Bremer Nachrichten

[...]ychologist Bernhard Bossong of [...]the Rhineland-Palatinate Intitute of [...]ation, Landau, has joined the de[...] [...]n what is a fair wage.

[...]at can a psychologist contribute to [...]ge-old debate? He can hadly be [...]ted to draw up the ideal pay scale, Dr Bossong makes no claim to [...] done so.

[...]at he claims is to pinpoint the [...]ious and unconscious grounds on [...] decisions are based. He has [...]d the yardsticks and ideas of fair[...] by which people are guided in [...]bing a method of payment as fair [...]fair.

[...] has outlined his experiments and [...]gs in the Göttingen scientific [...]al *Zeitschrift für Experimentelle Angewandte Psychologie.*

[...] fundamental problem, he says, is [...]h between several principles of [...]ss, the first being that everyone [...]t to earn an income commensurate [...] their qualifications and perfor[...]ce.

[...]t there is also the principle that [...]yone ought to earn the same regard[...] of input and the principle that basic [...]ilities ought to be given priority re[...]ess of performance.

[...] Bossong says decisions on pay [...] are frequently a compromise bet[...] the various principles of fair play: German civil servants, for instance, [...]aid on the basis of all three catego[...] wage groups and length of service; [...] holiday allowances and basic [...] and special grants and children's [...]ances."

[...] aim was to find out what makes [...]e feel a given wage is fair and [...] facts they go by.

[...] drew up eight potted biographies [...]iversity graduates taking up their [...]ob. The biodata listed what sub[...] they had studied and whether they [...]men or women.

[...]ur of the eight subjects had been [...]fied in a preliminary study as dif[...], four others as easy.

His imaginary biographies were given to 14 women and 13 men trainee teachers. They were to say what starting salaries they felt the eight ought to earn.

The only guideline they were given was that the take-home starting salary of a sociology graduate was DM1,700 a month.

What the students were not told was that there were two sets of biodata in which the sexes were reversed. So each case history was judged both as a male and as a female applicant.

The results indicate that the difficulty of the degree course was considered a major criterion in assessing what was felt to be a fair wage.

But this was only the case where the men were concerned. In their case the "fair" wage varied by up to DM150 per month.

When the applicant was a woman it was hardly felt to matter whether her degree course had been hard or easy. The salary recommended varied by a mere DM20.

Oddly enough, the differential was awarded to the fictitious male graduates not only by men but also by women students.

The sex of the student made no apparent difference when it came to what was felt to constitute a fair starting salary for the person concerned.

Surprised by these findings, Dr Bossong conducted a similar experiment using 41 senior students of a *Gymnasium,* or high school: 22 boys and 19 girls.

This time the criteria listed were not only the applicant's sex and the difficulty of his or her degree course but also the neediness of the job-seeker.

The potted biographies included a husband or wife who was either still a student or unemployed, or alternatively a child to look after.

The guide to starting salaries given in this case was that an informatics graduate could be expected to net DM2,200 at his first job, and that his course was moderately difficult.

This time the women graduates trailed well behind the men in the salaries the students felt they deserved to earn. They averaged DM2,204, as against the men's DM2,338.

Given a difficult university course, a much higher starting salary was felt to be appropriate, the difference being that between DM2,443 and DM2,089 per month.

The criterion of neediness was not felt to be anywhere near as important. The needy were on average awarded DM72 per month more than those without dependents to support.

Even so, graduates whose degree course was judged not to have been particularly difficult and whose incomes were correspondingly low were awarded a perceptible bonus for neediness.

But women were again given a poorer deal than men, and again by both sexes.

A third experiment was carried out to determine whether the allocation of higher incomes to candidates with more difficult courses of study was made in respect of their qualifications and expected performance.

Dr Bossong described situations in which two or more people jointly did a specific job and earned a specific amount of money.

They were said to differ both in their qualifications and in the amount of effort they put into their work.

A group of 56 trainee teachers, all women, were asked to select one of five possibilities of sharing out the sum between them.

Performance link

The five methods were classified as being from slightly to extremely related to performance.

The students who assessed the pay scales this time were themselves evaluated and allocated to one of three groups.

The one group tended to allocate the cash in strict accordance with performance. Another favoured equal pay for all. A third took a middle-of-the-road approach.

Yet all 56 women students awarded more money on average to men than to women, although the difference was most striking among the group that made its awards on the basis of performance.

"A social paradox persisted in this third experiment," Dr Bossong writes. "The test persons, all women, awarded men more money than women. Yet they were studying for a profession in which equal pay is paid."

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 July 1983)

The real truth about work, women and song

[...]nly one working wife in five in Baden-Württemberg is helped with [...]housework by her husband, a survey [...]missioned by the state's Social Af[...] Ministry reveals.

[...]titled Women: Their Role and [...] They See Themselves, it was un[...]ken by the Allensbach market re[...]h institute.

[...]me of its findings have been pub[...]d by the Ministry.

[...]omen aged 20 to 60, 1,200 of them, [...] polled, as were 430 husbands and [...]children aged 10 to 18. The entire [...]y is soon to be published in book [...]

[...]fty-five per cent of the women poll[...] went out to work, and 58 per cent of [...]ing wives worked full-time. [...]ty-six per cent worked half-days [...]16 per cent a few hours a day.

[...]e husband or partner's views on [...]en working depends, it seems, on [...]her they have children.

[...]venty-seven per cent of husbands in childless families felt it was good, all things considered, that their wives went out to work.

When there are children under 15 at home only 54 per cent of husbands feel it is such a good idea.

Women are extremely keen on job-sharing. Sixty-four per cent felt it should be encouraged, and the figure was 73 per cent among women interested in going back to work.

One working wife in two in Baden-Württemberg would be happy to share a job. So would one husband in four.

The higher the career qualification and status of the people questioned, the more strongly they feel that the family suffers from the wife going out to work.

Seventy-four per cent of women who worked only half-days or a few hours a day felt they could manage both work and running the home.

Only 58 per cent of wives who worked all day agreed, while 43 per cent of single-parent mothers felt that work left them with too little time to devote to the family.

A majority of children and juveniles are happy about their mothers going out to work, although 42 per cent of the under-14s complained that mum didn't have enough time for them.

On balance, however, the children complained of too little time with their fathers than with their mothers.

More than three out of four youngsters felt their mothers had enough time for them, whereas 42 per cent regretted they did not have more intensive contacts with their fathers.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 July 1983)

Linguist hits at 'language bias against women'

A woman linguist from Constance University has complained in a Brunswick lecture about linguistic discrimination against women.

Professor Senta Trömel-Plötz was lecturing at a summer university course by women for women at Brunswick University of Technology.

People ought to think about women as well as men and refer to them too, she said, objecting to terms such as *Woche der Brüderlichkeit* (Week of Brotherliness) and *Brot für Brüder* (Bread for Brethren).

They were objectionable because they ignored women.

Dr Trömel-Plötz specially mentioned religion and the Church as sectors in which linguistic discrimination was rife.

It started, she said, with the Ten Commandments, especially the one about not coveting the neighbour's wife.

Even "people" was not a neutral term. It was used to exclude women, as in a recent comment by a clergyman that: "More and more people are resigning from the Church and leaving their wives and children in membership."

It was typical that there was no female form of the term *die Deutschen* (the Germans), whereas one could choose between *die Franzosen* (the French) and *die Französinnen* (French women).

"The Germans and their wives are a peace-loving people" was a statement that would be considered grammatically correct.

Yet the same could hardly be said of: "The Germans and their husbands are a peace-loving people."

Women were second-rate linguistically and something must be done about it. It was in contempt of their personalities, she said.

She dealt with surveys indicating that women were not taken as seriously as men in conversation and not allowed to speak for as long as on the same topics.

Even the higher status of being a university lecturer was no guarantee of equal treatment.

Linguistically, men tended to magnify their role, whereas women often tended to limit theirs. Men rounded of their personalities, women called themselves into question.

Men presumed to rights, women asked for permission. Women were more easily controllable because they were not allowed to have their say.

Dr Trömel-Plötz's lecture was the last of a series of six in a summer course financed by the students' union. The course was accompanied by verbal fireworks.

The university vice-chancellor complained that there was no such thing as an autonomous women's department at Brunswick University of Technology, the group that organised the course.

He also objected to the impression being conveyed that it was an official university course, which was not the case.

After the first lecture, entitled Changes in Sex Roles and Sexism, the women complained to the vice-chancellor about the behaviour of the caretaker (inevitably, a man).

epd

(Nordwest Zeitung, 16 July 1983)